DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 283 250 EA 019 469

TITLE	Tradition and Turmoil in Educational Administration. Study Guide 1.
INSTITUTION	Deakin Univ., Victoria (Australia).
REPORT NO	ISBN-0-7300-0197-0
PUB DATE	85
NOTE	69p.; One of three study guides (see EA 019 469-471) prepared as course material for "Introduction to Educational Administration" (Course EED-431).
AVAILABLE FROM	Publication Sales, Deakin University Press, Deakin University, Victoria 3217, Australia ($8.50 Australian; quantity discounts).
PUB TYPE	Guides - Classroom Use - Materials (For Learner) (051) -- Viewpoints (120)
EDRS PRICE	MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	*Administrator Education; *Educational Administration; Educational Philosophy; *Educational Theories; Educational Trends; Foreign Countries; Futures (of Society); Higher Education; Holistic Approach; Organizational Theories; Textbook Content; Textbooks; Theory Practice Relationship
IDENTIFIERS	Australia

ABSTRACT

This book is the first in a set of three study guides designed to help students of educational administration critically analyze contemporary theory in the field, examine the field from a new viewpoint, and develop their own, more practical knowledge base. The first of this volume's two sections, by W. John Smyth, focuses upon the traditional or positivistic approach to the study of educational administration and guides the student through a reading of "Educational Administration: Theory, Research and Practice," a textbook by W. Hoy and C. Miskel identified as typical of the traditional approach. Particular attention is devoted to the book's emphasis on scientific research and theory as the necessary basis of knowledge, to the exclusion of practice and values. The second section, by Laurie Rattray-Wood and June Parrott, argues that the disintegrating consensus of traditional views about the theory of educational administration is leading to the adoption of a revised approach in which the real substance of educational administration includes determination of values, evaluation of ideas, and negotiation of ideas through discourse. Crisis theory is discussed, including its application to the social context of education. The impact of technology, the mass media, and new concepts of work are also reviewed, and future issues and problems are anticipated. Articles from the literature are reproduced for consideration, readings and activities are recommended, and over 75 relevant references are cited. (PGD)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

EED431
Introduction to Educational Administration

Study Guide 1
Tradition and Turmoil in Educational Administration

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL IN MICROFICHE ONLY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Fay Warby

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

ED283250

EA 019 469

EED431
Introduction to Educational Administration

Study Guide 1
Tradition and Turmoil in Educational Administration

Deakin University
Victoria 3217

Published by Deakin University, Victoria 3217
Distributed by Deakin University Press
First published 1982
Revised edition 1983
Revised (typeset) edition 1985

© Deakin University 1985

Edited and designed by Deakin University Production Unit
Printed by Brown Prior Anderson Pty Ltd

Tradition and turmoil in educational administration.

Rev. ed.
ISBN 0 7300 0197 0.

1. School management and organization. 2. Universities and colleges—Administration. I. Deakin University. School of Education. Open Campus Program. II. Title: Introduction to educational administration. Study guide 1.

371.2

This book forms part of the EED431 *Introduction to Educational Administration* course offered by the School of Education in Deakin University's Open Campus Program. It has been prepared by the EED431 *Introduction to Educational Administration* course team, whose members are:

Richard Bates
Keith Boyd
June Parrott
Laurie Rattray-Wood (chairman)
John Smyth
Peter Watkins

External writers:
John Clark
John Codd
Gerry England

The course includes:
Study Guide 1: *Tradition and Turmoil in Educational Administration*
Study Guide 2: *Thinking About Educational Administration*
Study Guide 3: *Critical Practice in Educational Administration*
Reader: *Reflective Readings in Educational Administration*

Acknowledgment
We wish to thank all regional tutors who have helped to teach and evaluate the earlier model of this course. In particular, special thanks are due to David Allen, Douglas Le Bas, John Nelson and Barrington Thomas for useful evaluations and suggestions. The efforts of many hundreds of students who studied the previous course are also acknowledged, for it was their perseverance and encouraging comments that stimulated further development by the course team. We are also grateful for the co-operation given so willingly by Margaret Callister, Principal of Coolaroo Primary School and Graham Farley, Headmaster of Braemar Christian College.

Front cover
'Interlock', aluminium construction by F.C. and M. Hinder, 1979, Deakin University.

Preface

Most communities in Australia are currently experiencing significant social change to which groups and individuals are having difficulty adjusting. The daily lives of people have become increasingly complex, and proceed at a greater pace than would have been the case twenty years ago. The multiplicity of factors, influences and pressures impinging upon us now have generated a sense of urgency and immediacy that was not present before. Within a field of interacting sociological, economic and political variables, it is our increasing difficulty to cope with rapid change that contributes toward a perspective of apparent turmoil within society and its institutions.

Much of the turmoil in Australian society relates to aspects of our socio-economic development such as technological progress, unemployment and underemployment along with increased leisure, changing values and the questioning of tradition, as they relate to each other within the economic fabric of capitalism. Ferment in our society is reflected in the turmoil seen by educators and the public generally in the theory and practice of education, in the administration of education and in educational systems both public and private. Some of the topics of criticism are openly recognised, others are yet to be fully exposed.

This book is the first in a collection of four booklets, one of which is a volume of related readings. The intention of the authors is to present an alternative view of educational administration. At times this perspective will appear to be impertinent, simply because many usual assumptions are challenged rather than taken for granted.

Much writing that exists on educational administration covers similar ground and has been derived from the application of a 'scientific' tradition to theories of administration. Until now it has been the practice to adopt empirically derived principles that were thought to be generalisable, to convince readers that there was a clear relationship between the proposed theory and their own practice, then leave the readers to determine the nature of that relationship in their own minds. In effect, students of 'educational administration' were given a grounding in knowledge that had doubtful applicability and relevance. Admittedly contrived examples were sometimes used to illustrate the principles, but unsuspecting naive readers usually found later that what they had learnt was a vocabulary that consisted of a collection of labels for various kinds of behaviour. There is no denying that the new words had use in descriptive writing, but there was almost always a lack of the understanding that could have been otherwise derived from appropriate interpretive work. Sceptical reflection was regarded as out of order and the activity of a foolish heretic. In this series we propose that readers seriously consider holding contemporary theory in a state of suspension or perhaps temporary rejection, while they critically examine both what could pass for knowledge in educational administration and what methods or techniques are best to use for its derivation.

Study Guide 1, *Tradition and Turmoil in Educational Administration*, begins with a critique of the traditional field of educational administration by examining the contents of a current, typical text. Students of traditional educational administration theory in the past, have often been cynical about similar content. It is true that while some of this cynicism had no foundation, there were individuals who questioned the material because it lacked legitimate associations with their own situation and because they felt that its content had not been subjected to critical surveillance. The critique suggests that alternative perspectives are possible especially if the traditional content is temporarily suspended while critical analysis is conducted. The need for the critique is supported by a discussion of the turmoil in society and in particular, education, the administering of which is the central concern.

Study Guide 2, *Thinking About Educational Administration*, commences with three approaches for the thinking, development and discussion processes that could go on during the acquisition of insight necessary for reflective practice. As a basis for much of what follows the empirical-analytic, hermeneutic-interpretive and critical-dialectic traditions of science and rationality are explained and compared with respect to the development of concepts within educational administration. Social, political and ideological dimensions of forms of rationality are taken into account so that the field of administration of education can be more readily put into context. The ethos of the administrator in the field of education and the essence of the activities are considered as we view the administrator as a *manager*, and then as an *educator*. Ideas about management and control are presented using various schools of thought which have important historical roots. The educational process and the concepts of culture, ideology and knowledge are intended to assist in the explanation of the work of the active educator within the context of schooling.

The culmination of the collection is in Study Guide 3, *Critical Practice in Educational Administration*. It is anticipated that this volume will serve to emphasise the significance of the collection as it illuminates the activity of administering and presents concepts that will lead to critical, reflective practice. Reasoning is presented to suggest that administering is philosophy in action. The political affairs of administering are translated in the terms rendered by a discussion of values, interests, competing claims and processes of negotiation. Finally, there is a discussion intended to encourage a critical practice of educational administration as it includes temporary suspension of the status quo while viability of an increased number of propositions is carefully examined.

The companion collection of readings is entitled *Reflective Readings in Educational Administration*. The contents of this reader are not intended to represent a comprehensive account of the issues raised by the course or of the field of educational administration.

Contents

Preface iii

Section 1: Educational administration: A critique of the tradition

Introduction 2
Positivistic approach—the prevailing paradigm 3
Behavioural science and the technical view of educational administration 7
Conclusion 10
References 11

Section 2: Crisis in society and educational administration

Introduction 14
Turmoil in educational administration—a developing new paradigm 15
A sense of crisis 18
The crisis in Australia 23
The crisis in historical perspective 34
Crisis tendencies, education and schooling 36
Two contrasting studies 39
Issues and problems for education in the 1980s 51
Conclusion 57
References 58

SECTION 1
EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION: A CRITIQUE OF THE TRADITION

W. John Smyth

'Balance of steel forms', painted steel by I. King, 1971-72, BHP House, Bourke Street, Melbourne.

EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION: A CRITIQUE OF THE TRADITION

W. John Smyth

Introduction

By whatever standards we use the study of educational administration is relatively new. Quite apart from its novelty, what is fascinating about this field of study is the way in which theory, research and discussion in the particular domain of school administration has tended to reflect, if somewhat belatedly, the wider debate about the nature of research and its relationship to the practicalities of the physical and social world. Many of the controversial, perplexing and confounding questions being asked in the wider social context about how knowledge should be derived and its ultimate relationship to both theory and practice, are matters of considerable import and relevance in the emergent field of educational administration.

The purpose of this section is quite explicit. It focuses critically upon the generally accepted 'traditional' or positivistic approach to the study of educational administration. The reader will be assisted to develop an awareness of the traditionalist treatment provided in Hoy & Miskel's (1982) standard text, *Educational Administration: Theory, Research and Practice* (2nd edn). While Hoy & Miskel have been singled out for specific consideration, they are considered to be representative of a range of standard texts that adopt a traditional approach to the study of educational administration. Others that might equally fit the bill are: Newell (1978), *Human Behavior in Educational Administration* and Campbell et al. (1976), *Introduction to Educational Administration*. To some extent Owens (1981), *Organizational Behavior in Education* (2nd edn) is in the same category. The reason for presenting aspects of the traditional treatment of educational administration is not so that they may be internalised and applied in practice: rather, the intent is to provide a base upon which to engage in debate and dialogue about possible alternative conceptualisations and interpretations of the field of educational administration.

Wherever possible, detailed and specific debate about the controversy surrounding the scientific view of the study of educational administration is deferred until later sections of the 'collection'. In order to make the discussion meaningful it is inevitable that some of the prominent issues shall emerge, albeit in a global sense, in this opening section.

It will be necessary to read most, if not all, of Hoy & Miskel (1982) when completing Section 1. How this is done will depend upon the disposition of the reader. Two obvious different approaches are:

1. *Read Hoy & Miskel* before *Section 1*
2. *Read Hoy & Miskel* after *Section 1*

It is suggested however that you follow the guidance provided by these boxes as they appear.

The treatment adopted here presumes Hoy & Miskel as a companion document. You will be 'led' or 'walked through', in a general sense, the major arguments and propositions raised within the traditionalist treatment and provided with a critique. Discussion starts with a brief consideration of the importance of 'paradigm' as a framework or a conceptual superstructure within which thinking, research, the identification of problems and the search for explanations and understanding occurs. Without consensus among like-minded thinkers and researchers about some kind of paradigm, the search for knowledge and understanding becomes largely directionless. It is argued here that research and inquiry within educational administration has been largely founded upon the scientific paradigm developed in the late 18th century, and since labelled as 'positivist' (Silverman 1970) but sometimes known as the empirico-analytic or logico-empirical. Consideration is given to the manner in which the logico-positivist paradigm derived from the physical and mathematical sciences has influenced the subsequent development of the prevailing social science view endorsed in the study of educational administration. The section concludes with discussion about the relationship between theory, research and practice that flows directly from the acceptance of the dominant paradigm. As a lead into Section 2, 'Crisis in society and educational administration' and also later sections of the 'collection', some suggestions will be made as to how the positivist paradigm might be questionable or problematic and the nature of some of these challenges.

Positivistic approach – the prevailing paradigm

Hoy & Miskel's (1982) first chapter deals with the early attempts to develop an all-embracing 'science of administration'. Consideration is given to the scientific management era of the 1920s in which man was regarded as analagous to a machine. This incorporated a corresponding social engineering approach where the quest was to make people more industrious, efficient and effective. It was out of this 'cult of efficiency' (Callahan 1962) that the classical view of administrative management arose which emphasised the importance of administrative functions such as planning, organising, commanding, co-ordinating and controlling (Fayol 1949).

Responding to the lack of a humane aspect within the mechanistic approach to administration, the 'human relations' approach developed as a counter movement by emphasising the need for a level of concern about the individual as a person. The Hawthorne studies of the 1930s and 1940s were considered tangible evidence of the need and desirability for managers to attend to the human element within their organisations.

In the light of experience and despite continuing and widespread support in management education today, the human relations approach really amounts to little more than a carefully contrived attempt to gloss over existing social relationships between management and workers. There is nothing that might be construed as liberating or emancipatory for the workers actually involved; the emphasis is upon the preservation of the status quo.

It was really the amalgam of the scientific management view of organisations, with the human relations emphasis on employee social relations, motivation and satisfaction, that led to what is now commonly described as the 'behavioural science approach' to the study of administration. Historically, this might appear as a neat trade-off

between two equally unsatisfactory alternatives. The problems with this contrived compromise position will become apparent shortly.

Hoy & Miskel indicate how developments in the field of administration generally, were closely paralleled by similar developments in the theory, research and practice of administration in schools. Of the behavioural science approach both inside schools and elsewhere, they claim that from its commencement in the 1950s until its zenith in the 1970s, 'it was overpromoted, and it is not surprising that extravagant expectations gave way to disdainful disillusionment' (p. 11). Whether the problem was over-zealous expectations, or whether it was flawed in a more fundamental sense, is an issue we shall turn to in a moment.

Hoy & Miskel appear particularly charitable and generous in their analysis of the shortcomings of the behavioural science approach to educational administration. They present a virtual litany of apologies:

> ... research and theory ... has been modest and much remains to be done
> ... a renewed press ... for practice, action and immediate results
> ... will face increased challenges ... [for] ... relevance and utility in theory and research
> ... one danger ... is the tendency to overgeneralize to all situations
> ... if the behaviour science approach is to remain productive in the 1980s, theory and research will have to become more refined, useful and situationally oriented.
> ... universal or ground of organizations do not work well (1982, p. 11).

The authors are content to rest their defence of the behavioural science approach on the claim that what this approach can and should offer 'is a set of conceptual guidelines to aid administrators as they attempt to understand the complexities of organizational life' (p. 11). What they fail to do at all is acknowledge the intense and acrimonious debate which has occurred over the past decade in the social sciences generally, and in educational administration in particular, about the nature of theory and its relationship to research and practice. In short they have totally ignored the current bout of paradigmatic feverishness currently afflicting the study of educational administration.

Now read Hoy & Miskel Chapter 1 and relate our comments to its content. You should attempt to understand the Hoy & Miskel viewpoint thoroughly so that you can then comprehend the nature of our criticism.

Before proceeding with our presentation, read Chapter 2 of Hoy & Miskel. Doing this should prepare you for what is to follow and allow you to begin a valuable interpretation based upon the comments on Chapter 1. Making brief notes as you read should prove useful for continuing with Section 1, once you have completed the Chapter.

In many respects, the second chapter of Hoy & Miskel's book which they devote to the serious question of the nature of 'Theory, Research and Practice', is a crucial one. It is here that fundamental questions currently plaguing the behavioural science approach, begin to surface and become problematic. The thrust of the chapter is that what has 'worked'

in the physical and mathematical sciences and what has come to be known as the 'scientific method', *can* and *should* be translated into the study of the social sciences. It is especially suited, so the proponents argue, to the study of schools as social systems. After all, if the theory and method of the physical sciences has attained respectability, why shouldn't it gain similar status in the social sciences? Although Hoy & Miskel concede that knowledge might be derived in a variety of ways and from varied sources (intuition, common sense and observation), they are quite adamant that 'none is as consistently reliable and trustworthy as science' (p. 19).

In essence, this incorporation of a physical science perspective with its ethos and values, into the study of social phenomena rests on four fundamental premises summarised by Deblois (1979):

> that knowledge is inherently neutral;
> that for analytical purposes, social phenomena are qualitatively the same as natural phenomena;
> that models, exemplars, techniques developed in the natural sciences are perfectly adequate to the study of social phenomena; and
> that the ultimate objective of social sciences does not differ from that of the natural sciences: it attempts to produce a system of high level, empirically grounded theoretical propositions that can generate predictive statements about social phenomena (1979, p. 3).

Acceptance of the inherent sameness of physical and social phenomena is the underlying presumption.

The central tenet of the scientific approach endorsed by Hoy & Miskel revolves around the role and function of theory in the scientific method. They accept implicitly the view that theory comprises 'a set of assumptions from which a larger set of empirical laws can be derived by purely logicomathematical procedures' (p. 20). The purpose of theory, therefore, becomes that of defining and proposing a set of relationships among variables that both explains and predicts phenomena. It is also argued that out of theory emerge hypotheses that are the subject of experimentation and observation, and that the results can be used to predict and explain further phenomena. Based on the rationality of this argument, Hoy & Miskel conclude that:

1. Theory is logically comprised of concepts, assumptions and generalisations
2. The major function of theory is to describe, explain and predict regularities in behaviour
3. Theory is heuristic, that is, it stimulates and guides the further development of knowledge (1982, p. 20)

Defined in this way, theory becomes a tool of the scientific method, to be tested through controlled research designs and confirmed or rejected by objective means. The process, therefore, is one of reductionism–logical deduction (based on conjectural statements or hypotheses), controlled experimentation and observation, and the subsequent development of law-like statements as explanations of phenomena. In Hoy & Miskel's words:

> Theories provide the conceptual underpinnings for the development of research to check the proposed theoretical explanations against observed reality (1982, p. 23).

Within this paradigm, it is argued that theories provide not only an integrating framework for the development and validation of further knowledge (by refining, reformulating and elaborating on the theory),

but also a way for practitioners to interpret and make sense of the complexity confronting them.

According to the positivist stance there is also a well defined relationship between research and theory. Kerlinger (1964) states:

> Scientific research is sytematic, controlled, empirical, and critical investigation of hypothetical propositions about the presumed relations among natural phenomena (in Hoy & Miskel 1982, p. 23).

Accordingly, 'research is guided by hypotheses that are empirically checked out against observations about reality in a systematic and controlled way' (Hoy & Miskel 1982, pp. 23–4). Unrefined empiricism and haphazard observation are dismissed as being sloppy research and serving only to distort reality rather than add to the systematic accumulation of worthwhile knowledge.

We are told that hypotheses are really a bit like bridges: they span the gaps between theory and research by enabling theory to be tested against reality (p. 24). We should not get confused either about the hierarchical status layering when talking about the level of abstraction between a 'hypothesis' and a 'theory'.

> Typically, hypotheses are on a lower level of abstraction than the theoretical generalizations from which they are deduced. Their confirmation in empirical research supports the usefulness of the theory as an explanation. The hypothesis is the researcher's bias; if it is deduced from a theory, the investigator expects that it will be supported by data. If it is not supported by data, then the theory is inadequate and must be reformulated or refined (Hoy & Miskel 1982, p. 25).

Knowledge construed in this way develops through 'concepts, generalizations, and theories, each being dependent upon the one preceeding it' (p. 25). Theory, therefore, is both the start and the finish of the scientific process—hypotheses are derived from it, and if substantiated by the data these hypotheses become part of a new theory.

The positivist paradigm as espoused in the writing of Hoy & Miskel, and which is still the dominant paradigm in the study of educational administration, is flawed in so many fundamental respects it is difficult to know where to start a refutation. Kuhn (1970) in his *Structure of Scientific Revolutions* argues that even the physical sciences do not slavishly follow the model of hypothesis generation, and the subsequent re-alignment of generalisations based on a detached objective analysis of the data. To suggest, therefore, that the social sciences through a behavioural science approach should emulate the scientific method is fanciful thinking. A more likely scenario is that knowledge is accumulated in a much less rational and somewhat piecemeal fashion, with rival paradigms (based on differing assumptions) competing with one another to generate questions and seek answers in unique ways.

What Hoy & Miskel totally ignore are the alternative paradigms by which fresh insights and understandings might be generated so as to inform the study of educational administration. By endorsing only that view of man which is inherently mechanistic and reductionist, Hoy & Miskel prevent the development of a perspective of man as a conscious, reflective and creative being who is able to act as an agent in his own liberation and emancipation. Being totally preoccupied with the objective world, the scientific paradigm is unable to comprehend, let alone portray, a subjective world that is socially constructed through the lived experiences and consciousness of men's minds. Further reading of Hoy & Miskel shall reveal an omission of issues about 'human consciousness,

self-consciousness, critical thinking, value orientations, and long range goals and ideals' (Deblois 1979, p. 5) as these relate to educational administrators. These are matters that fail to conform to the typical regularity and stability of issues amenable to scientific analysis. In the light of these omissions the argument for pursuing some of the new and emerging alternative paradigms becomes even more compelling.

Hoy & Miskel's interpretation of the nature of the relationship between theory and practice is also worthy of comment, not only because of its misleading nature but also because of the way in which it colours their viewpoint through the remainder of the book. They claim that the scientific method, because of its universal rationality, provides a common medium or way of thinking that is suitable for both theorists *and* practitioners.

In practical terms, however, Hoy & Miskel provide what is really a quite naive interpretation of this relationship. Both in terms of the ability to engage in abstraction and the rigor with which they can enact the scientific method of inquiry, we are told that there is a pronounced hierarchy from theorists (whoever they are), through to researchers, and eventually down to practitioners. The inescapable conclusion, although we are not told so, is that research (and theorising) is something that is done *by* researchers (in collusion with theorists) *on* practitioners for their benefit. Theory, in Hoy & Miskel's terms, is therefore something which is inherently superior and more valuable than practice. To use their words:

> Without theory ... there is virtually no foundation for knowledge, for the meaningful research that provides information pre-supposes a theory (1982, p. 27).

The total untenability of their line of argument as a consequence of the singular commitment to the positivist paradigm becomes glaringly apparent in the closing paragraphs of Chapter 2 where they explore the application of behavioural science concepts to the study of complex human situations. The neutral and value-free stance of positive science falls apart as soon as they attempt to separate fact from value. Bias is indeed a problem, but not for the reasons Hoy & Miskel advance. From their perspective, trying to partial out values and personal preferences that 'get in the way' when objectifying the study of human situations, is clearly impossible. The best they can suggest is that investigators should openly state their biases and values. After all, 'the road to generalized knowledge can lie only in tough-minded scientific research, not introspection and subjective experience' (p. 28).

Read Chapter 3 of Hoy & Miskel before proceeding any further with this section. Once again, making brief notes will probably facilitate understanding of the point of view that follows below.

Behavioural science and the technical view of educational administration

As one of the major contributors to the debate about the nature and validity of knowledge about educational administration, Greenfield (1980) argues that positivists like Hoy & Miskel live in a world where facts and theories about those facts are completely separate. He is convinced that the separation between facts and values is at best quite indistinct, and

that what we construe as facts are largely influenced by the ideas and beliefs we hold. In Greenfield's (1980) words, positivists view facts as

> realities that lie strewn about their world as pebbles lie on the seashore. One may pick them up, wonder about them, then put them back without changing them significantly or modifying the perception that another observer may have of them. One may fit them into a pattern and explain them according to a set of objective rules for truth-making. The role of the observer and the role of the explainer are of minimal importance, since truth and explanation lie outside the observer (1980, p. 29).

The obvious appeal of the scientific approach is that it appears to offer an external or absolute standard of truth. The depersonalised approach avoids the problem of having to contest or adjudicate among competing versions of the truth, that might otherwise occur. As Kerlinger (1964) notes, science offers to provide knowledge that is 'outside the scientist and his personal beliefs, perceptions, biases, values, attitudes and emotions' (p. 6). Greenfield (1980) argues that for many this is a comfortable approach because it enables the facts to be explained in terms of the theories, and in the process it provides a way of being able to control those facts.

Viewed in this way, the laws and predictions derived from positivistic inquiry assume all the hallmarks of what Habermas (1971) calls 'technical expressions' (p. 308). The linkage between research and practice is reduced to that of a purely technical one. The sole purpose of research is to exert a controlling and dominating influence over practice. Rather than raising searching questions about the nature of and reasons for practice, research conceived in this way is more concerned about enhancing the means by which given ends might be better achieved. Culbertson (1981) summed up the relationship this way:

> ... logical positivist research is conservative in its orientation to practice. It provides means for those in existing systems to function more effectively vis-a-vis established objectives. 'Value-free' study ... cannot address, much less contribute to, the analysis of differing policy alternatives which are directed at changing or improving practice. Positivistic research, insofar as its relationship to practice is concerned, tends to be technical in character, somewhat unpredictable in its uses, and conservative in its orientation (1981, p. 3).

Chapters 3–12 of Hoy & Miskel are a classic working illustration of the technocratic way in which positivistic research is used to rationalise and justify the pursuit of unquestioned objectives. The litany of topics dealt with in chapter headings speak eloquently for themselves—bureaucracy, professionalism, motivation, organisational climate, leadership, decision making, communication and organisational effectiveness. The intent is to present a set of prescriptions about how established and entrenched objectives serving particular interests might be achieved with greater technical efficiency, under the guise of legitimate objective science.

In their third chapter entitled 'Conceptual Perspectives', Hoy & Miskel offer the caveat at the outset that while 'theoretical knowledge can be applied to schools, doubters exist' (p. 31). Readers are warned that schools are complex places and that some of the material in the chapter is 'abstract'. The writers were correct on both scores. The presumed purpose of this chapter is to provide the reader with spectacles through which to view schools as organisations so as to enhance understanding. Given the array of typologies and classification schemes, the reader cannot help wondering how all of this in any way clarifies the nature of schools and what transpires within them. Even accepting Hoy & Miskel's

point that typologies are useful in obtaining a perspective on how schools differ from other organisations, the obscure discussion about 'compliance theory' seems to be more relevant to prisons and mental institutions than it does to the nurturant setting of schools.

The title to Chapter 4, 'The School as a Social System' holds the promise of telling us something about the intricate social networks that comprise schools, and the way these impact on teaching and learning. Despite the fact that we are forewarned early in this chapter that schools as social systems are 'comprised of interacting personalities bound together in an organic relationship', the authors fail to deliver the goods. Possibly a more insightful explanation of the way schools *really are*, and the impact that networks have in the determination of curriculum, was offered by Cusick (1981) in his ethnographic study of two secondary schools. He found that primitive categorisations like role, group and status were inappropriate as explanations. Through extensive observation and interviews with teachers in the schools, Cusick found that schools were more likely to be composed of people who had very idiosyncratic interests, who related to each other in highly personalised ways and who formed a network structure characterised by 'highly diverse, segmented and egocentric fields' (p. 135). While not denigrating the high-quality work undertaken by teachers in the two schools, Cusick expressed real concern about the absence of any collective sense in which schools operated as motivating, rewarding or supporting entities with respect to social responsibility. It would be interesting to speculate as to whether this is an artefact of the US scene, or whether similarities apply in the Australian setting. The point nevertheless is a salient one—schools are in all probability not the neat organic units portrayed through the social systems view of Hoy & Miskel.

Read Chapter 4 of Hoy & Miskel in order to evaluate their perspective and our criticism.

Now read Chapters 5 and 6 of Hoy & Miskel in readiness for our further comments.

Building upon the social systems model, Hoy & Miskel provide (in Chapter 5) a discussion of formal organisation and bureaucratic structure. While providing all the necessary underpinnings of bureaucratic theory, what the writers omit to tell us is that bureaucratic structures have arisen largely as a consequence of the increasing complexity of society and the concomitant need for rational predictable relational networks. The fundamental point is that bureaucracies are a response to the demands of the economic market place for rationality and co-ordination. Hoy & Miskel are content with the situation whereby 'the bureaucratic model is the one that most school administrators adopt, and this may explain why the model can be used to predict accurately certain kinds of behavior' (p. 91). This is a rather naive view that totally ignores the fact that much of what occurs in organisations does not conform at all with formal structural blueprints.

The more important but totally ignored issue, is whether schools *should* be portrayed in bureaucratic terms. If we reject the prevailing notion that Hoy & Miskel espouse of schools comprising part of the

corporate sector, then this opens up the possibility of some potentially more productive questions about the nature of schools and schooling. For one thing, the Weberian view of formal structure omits discussion of important alternative views about the sources of legitimacy within formal organisation structures. As Meyer & Rowan (1977) note:

> Formal structures are not only creatures of their rational networks in the social organization. In modern societies, the elements of rationalized formal structure are deeply ingrained in, and reflect, widespread understandings of social reality. Many of the positions, policies, programs, and procedures of modern organizations are enforced by public opinion, by the views of important constituents ... by social prestige ... Such elements of formal structure are manifestations of powerful institutional rules which function as highly rationalized myths that are binding on particular organizations (1977, p. 343).

The theoretical barrenness of Hoy & Miskel's treatment becomes even more apparent in their sixth chapter where they attempt to counter the glaring inability of bureaucratic theory to effectively explain much of what ensues in schools. Their contrast between the bureaucratic and professional orientation within schools, and the conflict between these two dimensions, is an ineffectual way of either exploring or explaining the nature of schools. Indeed, as some have argued, professionalism and bureaucracy may be regarded as complementary rather than contradictory means of social control. In any case, the superficiality of Hoy & Miskel's approach ignores some of the more exciting developments such as the 'theory of negotiated order' (Day & Day 1977) which replaces the static interpretation of bureaucratic theory with a more dynamic interactionist perspective, emphasising both the formal and informal aspects of organisations and the way they shape each other and generate change. This approach promises much greater scope for portraying the 'underlife' of the organisation through an explanation of the nature and meaning of relationships between people, while emphasising the crucial considerations of 'temporality, the situational context of social action, and the important place of certain contingencies in determining the future course of events' (Day & Day 1977, p. 133).

Conclusion

Having adopted a particular view of the world founded on a mechanistic view of the administrative process, Hoy & Miskel find it difficult to portray educational administration in anything other than technical terms. Because they regard practice as being subservient to research and theory, they are only able to see important issues as being ones in which researchers and theoreticians are able to tell practitioners *how their world should be*! Under these conditions it is not altogether surprising to find an overwhelming concern with hierarchically controllable or manipulative aspects such as 'motivation' (Chapter 7), 'organizational climate' (Chapter 8), 'leadership' (Chapter 9), 'decision making' (Chapter 10), 'communication' (Chapter 11), and 'organizational effectiveness' (Chapter 12). All of these are seen as topics over which *effective* school administrators *can* and *should* exercise control. Even more disturbing is the fact that most of these topics are not regarded as being in any way problematic. According to the Hoy & Miskel view, they are essentially scientific questions that require rational technical answers. Deeper and more fundamentally substantive questions about the meaningfullness of administrative practice, the perplexing nature of dilemmas confronting school administrators, and how these shape and influence their own

values and ideologies (as well as those of their clientele), cannot be addressed within the kind of framework presented by Hoy & Miskel.

As an entrée into those deeper questions the reader is invited, as a challenging intellectual exercise, to obtain a first-hand glimpse of the technocratic solutions offered by Hoy & Miskel. This might be done by reading any of Chapters 7–12, keeping in mind a number of critical questions:

1. In what way does their treatment make education a more enlightening or emancipatory process for children?
2. How does it enable school administrators to better grasp the realities of their own contexts through reflection and introspection about practice?
3. What are the significant moral and ethical considerations?

We suggest you now read at least two of the Hoy & Miskel Chapters 7–12. Relate what you read both to the Hoy & Miskel position and to that expressed in Section 1. You should then be well placed to evaluate both approaches. Try asking and answering the questions we pose.

It would be appropriate to now read the synthesis that Hoy & Miskel provide in Chapter 13. Ask yourself the same questions.

It is almost certain that you should now read straight through Section 1 and of course any of the Hoy & Miskel material that you found stimulating, to provide food for further thought and private or public debate.

References

Callahan, R. (1962), *Education and the Cult of Efficiency*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Campbell, R., Bridges, E., Corbally, J., Nystrand, R., & Ramseyer, J. (1976), *Introduction to Educational Administration*, 4th edn, Allyn & Bacon, Boston.

Culbertson, J. (1981), 'Three epistemologies and the study of educational administration', *U.C.E.A. Review* **22**(1), 1–6.

Cusick, P. (1981), 'A study of networks among professional staffs in secondary schools', *Educational Administration Quarterly* **17**(3), 114–38.

Day, R., & Day, J. (1977), 'A review of the current state of negotiated order theory: An appreciation and a critique', *The Sociological Quarterly* **18**, 126–42.

Deblois, C. (1979), 'Challenge to administrative theory', *The Canadian Administrator* **18**(8), 1–6.

Fayol, H. (1949), *General and Industrial Management*, Pitman, London.

Greenfield, T. (1980), 'The man who comes back through the door in the wall: Discovering truth, discovering self, discovering organizations', *Educational Administration Quarterly* **16**(3), 26–59.

Habermas, J. (1971), *Knowledge and Human Interests*, Beacon Press, Washington.

Hoy, W., & Miskel, C. (1982), *Educational Administration: Theory, Research and Practice*, 2nd edn, Random House, New York.

Kerlinger, F. (1964), *Foundations of Behavioral Research: Educational and Psychological Enquiry*, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, New York.

Kuhn, T. (1970), *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Meyer, J., & Rowan, B. (1977), 'Institutionalized organizations: Formal structure as myth and ceremony', *American Journal of Sociology* **83**(2), 340–63.

Newell, C. (1978), *Human Behavior in Educational Administration*, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.

Owens, R. G. (1981), *Organizational Behavior in Education*, 2nd edn, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.

Silverman, D. (1970), *The Theory of Organizations: A Sociological Framework*, Heinemann, London.

SECTION 2
CRISIS IN SOCIETY AND EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

Laurie Rattray-Wood and June Parrott

'Putting on the ritz', painted steel by Robertson-Swann, 1980, donated to the Geelong Art Gallery by B. Munro.

CRISIS IN SOCIETY AND EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

Laurie Rattray-Wood and June Parrott

Introduction

Formal Australian studies and training in educational administration at the tertiary level have developed in just the past three decades. This same period was also one of general economic growth and expansion of services such as education. It was a period in which great public expenditure stimulated significant change and reform. More recently there have been substantial cut-backs in real expenditure combined with downward population trends. These have caused a change from growth to diminution and it seems appropriate to reflect upon the achievements of the expansionary 30 year period. Among the achievements were the building of many schools, the initiation of support services and the rise in socio-economic status of teachers following their successful negotiations for substantial salary increases. The trends included the developing professionalism of teachers, various curriculum movements, the debate about devolution of authority and rising concern about the effects of various social inequalities. The associated activity and dialogue contributed toward making the latter years of the three decades a period that could be noted for turbulence in schools and society.

It seems strangely paradoxical that despite the ferment and turbulence, the changes reflected in our schools are by no means dramatic or momentous. Such comparative stability is a quality admired by many people, but if one conceives of schools as dynamic main-spring institutions of our society, one cannot help wondering why schools so often appear to be agencies promoting continuity or perpetual reproduction of society, rather than receptive forward thinking. Maybe the consensus of opinion about the components of academic courses in educational administration has supported the complacent attitudes that aligned themselves with conservative approaches. We will never know this with any certainty. By way of contrast, the current scene in educational administration is exciting for it promises the possibility of critical perspectives which will become a necessary background for administrators in education.

This section takes up the position adopted in Section 1 and argues that the disintegrating consensus of traditional views about the theory of educational administration is leading to the adoption of a revised approach. During discussion of the theme of the emerging view, it will be argued that the real substance of educational administration includes determination of values, evaluation of ideas, serious considerations about the transmission of knowledge, and negotiation of ideas through discourse. A holistic approach that looks at human phenomena in social situations will be recommended for an investigation of the activities of educational administration. This will be followed by an explanatory discussion of crisis theory which will lay a foundation for an examination of the societal turmoil in which our schools function. The situation in Australia will be expanded upon by looking at views on the impact of technology, the changing world of work and the culture of the mass media. After placing the current crises in historical perspective, a

selection of current crisis tendencies in education and schooling will be briefly examined. Finally, the issues and problems that are predicted for education in the 1980s will be discussed.

Turmoil in educational administration—a developing new paradigm accompanied by disintegrating consensus of traditional views

The critique of Hoy & Miskel (1982) in Section 1 focused upon the behavioural science approach about which a strong consensus had been established during the expansionary period of the 1950s and 1960s. Students studied the 'laws' of social and behavioural science in the belief that the study was an appropriate preparation for their activities in administering schools and other aspects of education. Under headings like 'bureaucracy' and 'organisational climate' for example, students were presented with a technocratic approach to the study of education based on the results of positivist research. Usually questions were not asked about values or the philosophical underpinning involved, because the utmost credibility had been attributed to the manner in which the knowledge had been derived. This was due to an exaggerated emphasis on the need for a value-free collection of objective data that met strict criteria of empiricist verification. Generally, it had not been considered acceptable to use methods that required human judgment or interpretation. Consequently, when students explored the link between theory and practice, they found that the theory often turned out to have a certain scientific sterility which made its application problematic.

'Educational administration' as it has traditionally been conceived, suggests that there is a theory or science of administration based on a set of universal laws that apply to all types of organisation. Thus educational administration is simply regarded as a particular application of these laws. It would appear that readers of traditional texts on administration and educational administration absorbed such ideas and sometimes found loose associations with their own working situation. Strangely enough these same people were usually quick to point out significant differences between their own school and other schools—differences that required each school with its management, procedures and rituals, to be thought of as unique. The contrast is incongruous, for it is the contrast of presumed universal theory with the practical experience that specific situations are unique. John Smyth, in Section 1, has already commented on this incongruity.

We are reminded by Campbell (1977, p. 35) that educational administration is 'first of all a field of practice' which many have made 'a field of study'. Thus many practitioners of the post-war period had hopes that academic courses in accepted theory would provide affirmation of practice or recipes for action. They were disappointed. They found that the body of knowledge which had been developed could not be readily applied to the actual work of the administrator because it was not usually allied to reality. This incongruity led Erickson (1977) to observe that a fundamental paradigm shift and a 'sweeping reassessment' of training programs were needed. Erickson was heralding an important change in approach which, to judge by the content of Hoy & Miskel (1982), fell on largely deaf ears. Furthermore, at the same conference of The University Council for Educational Administration (UCEA) at which Campbell and Erickson had spoken in 1975, much of the research as well

as the theory of the previous 20 years was described by Halpin & Hayes (1977, p. 291) as 'shoddy work' that was 'ground out by men whose understanding of the role of theory in research was shallow'.

The period under discussion nevertheless was important because it was during this time that many centres for the study of educational administration were established in tertiary institutions and it became respectable to be involved in the movement. Notable people such as Richard Carlson, Jack Culbertson, Daniel Griffiths and Andrew Halpin in the US, George Baron, Meredydd Hughes and Bill Taylor in England, and Bill Bassett, Alan Crane, Ray McCulloch and Bill Walker in Australia worked hard and successfully to build world-wide recognition for the movement. This was a feat in itself, for the study could not be regarded as a basic discipline in the same sense that economics or sociology, for example, were disciplines.

Some of the leaders of the movement have in more recent times had misgivings about the progress and direction of 'the theory movement', as it came to be known. Their concern represents a breakdown of the previous consensus about the nature of educational administration, its content, research procedures and its epistemology. For example, Griffiths after 20 years of involvement with the movement wrote 'It is time for a new paradigm for the study of educational administration' (1977, p. 7) and although his reasons might not have been the same, this call was echoing similar observations made by Greenfield at the International Intervisitation Programme on Educational Administration (IIP Conference) in Bristol in 1974 and Erickson at the UCEA conference in 1975. Again later, Griffiths (1979), although not deprecating the theoretical work of the past, observed that all previous research was based on a theory of 'normal science' and that critical discussions about the theory of educational administration were lacking. He recognised that there were signs of 'an awakening of criticism in educational administration' but that the 'level and intensity of that criticism [was], however, nowhere near that in the parent field of organizational theory' (p. 43). Griffiths (1979) had apparently undergone a substantial shift in thinking when he wrote:

> I approach this task with a certain sadness, because it is not possible to do the job without challenging virtually all of the premises that I have accepted during my career (1979, p. 44).

The current ferment involving criticisms of past methodology, linked with issues about the nature and validity of knowledge (epistemological issues), is recognised also by Culbertson (1981). He reviews three 'scholarly traditions' which he says 'reflect relatively distinct epistemologies' and which are 'contending for the allegiances of social science scholars and professors of educational administration' (p. 1). Previous to Culbertson's article, social theorists including Habermas (1976) and Fay (1975) had expressed critical views about the 'normal science' or positivist approach and Fay had produced a book on the subject of the three epistemologies to which Culbertson had addressed himself.

As a result of these critiques a new emerging view argues that the real substance of educational administration includes determination of values, evaluation of ideas, considerations about the transmission of knowledge, and negotiation of ideas through discourse. These activities constitute what Hodgkinson (1978) calls 'philosophy in action' and as such they are

about value questions which do not lend themselves to ready handling in the same way that other variables have been subjected to statistical treatment in regression equations and factor analyses. Such treatments assume that people 'can be reduced to a set of variables which are somehow equivalent across persons and across situations' (Reason & Rowan 1981, p. xiv) an idea that can be carried to quite ridiculous extremes. The study of variables in preference to persons or groups is a form of analysis that cannot adequately permit the study and interpretation of human phenomena in social situations. The attempt to develop a more adequate holistic account of human action is the essence of a critical appraisal of the past positivist methods of developing 'knowledge' in the social sciences and educational administration in particular. It is such criticism that is creating turmoil in the study of educational administration, for it has significant repercussions for research and investigation, and of course for practice.

Heron (1981) for instance emphasises the difference when he contrasts two different ways of interacting with persons in social science research.

1. The traditional approach which consists of interacting with people 'so that they make no direct contribution to formulating the propositions that purport to be about them or to be based on their sayings or doings' (p. 19). In effect the researcher does the inquiring and the subject performs the actions that are the topic of the inquiry. The weakness in this approach is that the subjects are assumed to be 'fully under the control of antecedent conditions within a scheme of absolute determinism' even though the researcher knows that she or he is 'a self-directing intelligence within a scheme of relative determinism' (p. 22).

2. The second way of 'cooperative inquiry' occurs when the researcher interacts with the subjects so that they contribute fully and become co-researchers while the researcher becomes a co-subject. This approach is a clear acknowledgement that the subjects of an investigation are not acting in a deterministic fashion whereby independent variables are coercing dependent variables.

The latter approach holds promise as a new paradigm for research in educational administration and should have special value in that a form of reductionism in which variables are studied in preference to people will be largely superseded.

In a review of changing conceptions and practices in educational administration, Boyd & Crowson (1981) observe that the dominant paradigm has been one of a social psychological approach to organisational theory. When allied with the Human Relations school of thought, they describe this approach as 'productive' but also point out that the approach is increasingly being called into question. The criticism, again, is said to revolve around the rejection of natural science or positivistic approaches to the explanation of human behaviour and they note alternative approaches (phenomenological and hermeneutical) that are being used to mount the assault on traditional methodology. Greenfield (1973, 1975) in particular, is responsible for much of this trend. for he argued that 'a mistaken belief in the reality of organizations has diverted our attention from human action and intention as the stuff from which organizations are made' (1975 p. 59). He views organisations 'not as structures subject to universal laws, but as cultural artefacts, dependent upon the scientific meaning and intention of people within them' (1975, p. 62).

Many of the concepts employed in traditional studies in educational administration (e.g. morale and motivation) are described by Bates (1982) as 'entrenched mythologies' which have inhibited the development of alternative paradigms. It seems likely that this problem has been compounded by the frequent use of quantitative methods of collecting and analysing data that are considered appropriate in the natural sciences. These methods are aimed at the generation of universal law and tend to obscure the links between data and theory. In a broad discussion of alternative qualitative paradigms Van Maanen (1979) suggests that 'qualitative researchers tend to regard social phenomena as more particular and ambiguous than replicable and clearly defined' (p. 520). Researchers with such tenets would be less likely to promote generalisations that could become rigid axioms of a law-like organisational mythology.

Van Maanen is the editor of an issue of *Administrative Science Quarterly* which is wholly devoted to articles on alternative paradigms with qualitative approaches. The prevalence of such writings and the change of heart of many other recognised authors serve to show that Hoy & Miskel (1982) have either ignored or failed to recognise both the strengths of an alternative paradigm and also the weaknesses in the basis of their own approach. They may well be accused of having overlooked the current turmoil in educational administration.

A sense of crisis

If there is turmoil in the theoretical world of academic educational administrators, there is also turmoil in the world of practice. The social context of such practice has suddenly become unpredictable. Inflation, interest rates, layoffs and default on repayment are terms which are now common to national and international activities of democratic countries that have a capitalist system as an economic base. They are also terms which are associated with a sense of crisis. The causes of crisis appear at first sight to be entirely economic, for the signs of crisis appear to be rooted in various aspects of finance, either personal, corporate or governmental. However there are also dynamic associations with the social and political aspects of our lives.

Noble (1982) writes of the diversity of studies that allude to impending crises and their relation to class inequalities in modern society and remarks on the 'rich and varied and notably contradictory set of interpretations' (p. 239) by which they are explained. He maintains that the diversity of accounts and analyses are significant because of their similar 'apocalyptic vision'. The agreement that can be found in the writings of many authors is described by Noble as 'the point of collapse' of the social system with the fabric of society crumbling, such that the 'final catastrophe is either so near as to be inescapable or is already under way' (p. 239).

The term 'crisis' has been chosen for use in the title of this section mainly because of its frequent appearance in the literature. Writers who use this word usually are discussing extremely serious situations and are trying to emphasise their concern by the choice of such an extreme expression. We are imitating this practice, but are aware that the over-utilisation of the term can have the effect of diluting its meaning. Thorns (1982) discusses the 're-shaping of individual and group life chances and opportunities' (p. 63) within capitalist nations and suggests that the cutting edge of the 'crisis' notion may have diminished. He points out

that in hindsight the series of 'crises' in the 1970s could now be regarded as new stages of development in the process of becoming established. If this is so, a heavily structuralist explanation of crisis in society should never be adopted for it would prevent an adequate understanding of the 'dynamic nature of capitalist social relationships' (p. 61).

A view of 'crises' as stages in continual development, is recommended by Thorns, for it does not ignore the possibility of new freedoms and constraints or apparently serious consequences. Rather than despairing with each new crisis, the alternative approach of relating to a continuing saga represents a positive approach to the recognition of and participation in new developments. Indeed this view could well be seen as having congruency with what Bronowski (1977) referred to as a 'sense of the future', for it is such a sense that would prevent us from being totally locked into current systems and structures and allow us to act positively as changing situations evolve. The concept of crisis moderated by a sense of future lends itself to an enlightened approach of regular critical review of current practices. Admittedly the first act is an assumption that schools will continue to exist despite deschooling moves. This assumption is of the type that a structuralist would make, but we recommend that a practice of continual critical review or 'reflective scepticism' (McPeck 1981) be adopted. Such an action is of a radical nature and requires that current practices be held temporarily in suspension to allow critical analysis and the generation of alternatives, the plausibility of which are carefully considered.

The concept of crisis can be applied usefully through the adoption of the notions proposed by the German social theorist Habermas (1976). He uses observations of western capitalist societies with democratic traditions to identify the dynamic forces within and between the three social systems nominated as political-administrative, economic and Socio-cultural. Integration occurs through each of these systems receiving inputs and providing outputs for the other two. (See Figure 2.1—this systems-theoretic approach has the disadvantage of possible oversimplification but should serve to clarify the concepts of crisis which Habermas cites.)

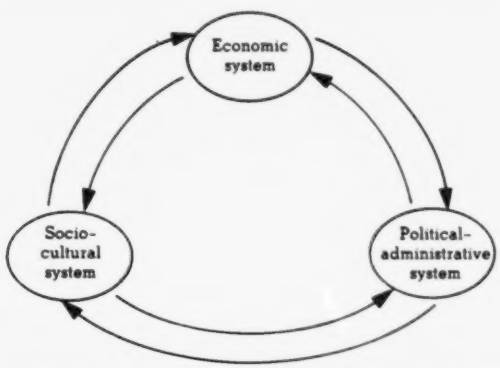


Figure 2.1: The relationship between systems showing the exchange of inputs and outputs

Persistent disturbances to the integration of the systems make up the dynamics of 'crises'. Increasing the level of sophistication of the explanation we can note that Habermas elucidates 'crises' by saying they 'arise when the structure of a social system allows fewer possibilities for problem solving than are necessary to the continued existence of the system' (p. 2).

Further understanding is derived from increased knowledge of the relationship between the systems adapted from Theophanous (1980). Starting with the political-administrative or state system, it can only function with financial support from the economy but the reciprocal relationship is the steering of the economy that is performed by the state. The socio-cultural system requires goods, services and financial rewards for labour from the economic system, and the needs of individuals are recognised by the provision of expenditure on social welfare services by the state. In return the socio-cultural system on one hand recognises the activities of the state by offering loyalty or accepting its legitimacy so that the political-administrative activities can continue, while on the other hand members are motivated to supply labour and skills to maintain the economy. Any set of relationships that is established depends upon the particular character of the capitalist economy, the nature of the democratic basis of the state and the various demands that come from groups interacting in the socio-cultural system. See Figure 2.2 for a more complete diagrammatic representation of these relationships.

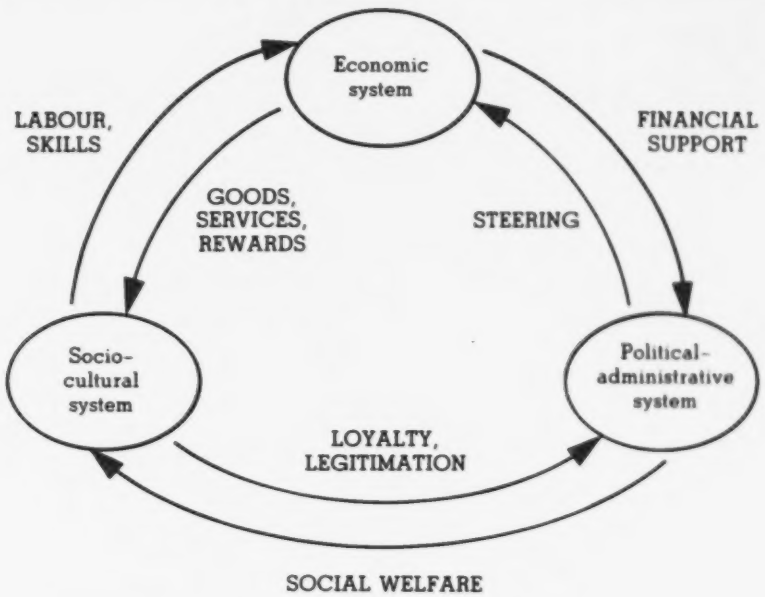


Figure 2.2: Diagrammatic representation of the details of the relationship between the systems

Habermas (1976) in discussing the relationships between these systems suggests that they are associated with four inter-related categories of crises. These may be summarised as:

Economic crisis The problem is essentially that the logic of capitalistic production is based upon continual concentration of capital, for example, the substitution of capital intensive for labour intensive industry, which increases the rate of return by lowering labour costs (thus increasing surplus value) and increasing profitability through greater market penetration and control. The outcome is historically the boom and bust cycle of business or, more recently, chronic and persistent inflation accompanied by overproduction. At the moment we seem to have the worst of both worlds, i.e., chronic instability, continual inflation and overproduction. Hence the economic crisis.

Rationality crisis As the state is called upon to intervene in the economic crisis in order to enhance the processes of capital accumulation and concentration two things happen: (a) the rational planning models it develops come into conflict with the essentially anarchic processes of production and business and (b) it can only sustain its activities through increases in taxes which reduce the rate of capital accumulation. Thus the very activities (rational planning and intervention to ensure stability) that are demanded by capital contradict the logic of the free market and restrict the rate of capital accumulation. Hence a rationality crisis emerges as incompatible demands are made and responded to.

Legitimation crisis The state however has not only to serve the demands of capital. It also, in a democracy, has to maintain the mass loyalty of the populace. This it has done by the provision of welfare services such as education, health, social services, mass transport systems, and so on. But these cost money and are regarded by capital as unproductive luxuries, that is they divert funds from the process of capital accumulation and concentration. Thus the economic system increasingly demands the reduction in such costs and services. Thus the basis of politics and legitimation is threatened as people get less for their tax dollar. It is especially threatened where business is seen as paying less than its share (through tax avoidance and evasion, for instance) than the public at large. Hence the legitimacy of the government is eroded. If the government fails to manage the crisis of legitimation, the penalty is withdrawal of mass loyalty and the collapse of the democratic mandate.

Motivation crisis Initially individuals were motivated to involve themselves in the capitalist production process because (a) they believed that their achievements would be judged through a process of fair competition, (b) that individual striving was the best guarantee of the public good and that (c) rewards would be distributed (via the market) according to achievement and contribution to the public good. As people lose faith in the market as a fair mechanism of distribution, acknowledge that some aspects of the public good (i.e., reduction of pollution) can only be achieved by collective action and come to regard the effects of unbridled and unrewarded competition and achievement as destructive, they lose their motivation for involvement in and support for the production process that is central to capitalist production. Moreover, as government is less able (because of the increasing demands of capital) to provide social services, motivation is further reduced. There is, in fact a motivational crisis.

As Habermas points out, these crises are interrelated and several will be present in various forms in any particular crisis of any particular state. Moreover, although the analysis is conducted at the level of the state the impact of the crises is observable in individual institutions, organisations and social systems. There is a flow-on effect as the crises penetrate all levels of social action.

Towards further explication

These various crises are quite evident in the current situation of Western democratic capitalist countries. When prime lending rates are high, consumption of material goods low and inflation rates high, there is a situation of very little economic growth known as 'stagflation'. Shrinking markets with little likelihood of small and medium sized businesses being able to pay high interest rates for loans is leading to a reduction in the need for labour (unemployment) along with personal and corporate

bankruptcy. The increasing mass of unemployed people are finding dissatisfaction with welfare benefits and, most of all, their perceived life chances. Many students studying at secondary schools and also tertiary institutions see their efforts as an absurd waste of time and so their energies are sometimes directed towards 'unproductive' activities. When taxpayers learn of gross examples of tax avoidance, they begin seriously to doubt the credibility of their government, not just because of taxation scandals but also because the government is perceived as being unable to steer the economy. Financial crises at the international level are also significant especially with respect to international lending. Angly (1982) reports that private banks hold more than 60% of the $550 billion in foreign debt of the non oil-exporting developing nations. Angly maintains this came about because during the period of recession following 1973, banks with surplus money found it difficult to recycle the cash along traditional lines by lending to local corporate customers, so they made the money available to under-developed nations. Many of these nations are finding repayments impossible because of falling prices for their exports. Glynn & Burger (1982) suggest that 'The weakened financial condition of many of the West's leading corporations and banks could worsen if Poland or any number of Third World debtors default on their loans' (1982, p. 42). The manifestations of the situation in Australia are described by Wheelwright (1982) as:

> the lowest metal prices in real terms for decades, falling exports, worsening balance of payments, increasing foreign debt, the deteriorating value of the dollar in terms of most foreign currencies, and the increasing number of Australians living in poverty (1982, p. 21).

There can be no doubt that this situation represents a grand *economic crisis*. Further thinking is required for the identification of other 'crises' and there usually is no single place to begin. Consider the despair of those who are unemployed and students who see little prospect of secure employment. Although it can be argued that our entire set of social expectations should be altered so that concepts of 'serious leisure' and 'job sharing' become acceptable, there currently is a *motivation crisis* as demonstrated by the increase in the number of people who are understandably losing interest in being 'productive' even in the broadest sense of the term. The fact is that governments (the state) are unsure about what action to take. Sometimes due to their political ambition to retain power, they cannot decide in favour of action that might unseat them in the democratic process at the next election, even though the current elected members believe they have the correct plans for action. The innumerable factors that have their various effects of complicating the decision-making process are thus symptomatic of this example of a *crisis of rationality*. Concerns derived from the reasons for the above crises, are in the minds of many members of the public as they view their government with a critical eye. A *legitimation crisis* is recognised by all those who lose confidence in the steering capacity of the elected government and who believe that a withdrawal of their support is appropriate.

Activity 2.1

1. What are the likely economic, social and political effects of an increase in home-loan interest rates?

2. Are there any economic, social or political effects of a drop in sales resulting in overproduction and stockpiling of new Australian cars? If so, what are they?

3. Nominate the likely economic, social and political effects of a government cutting its spending to control the rate of inflation.

It should be obvious from everyday experience that there are countless social and political effects of the economic crisis. Indeed, the variety of possible pressures in any one social, political or economic category is usually responsible for an even greater variety of reaction. Depending upon one's point of view, situations that produce undesirable effects can be thought of as crises.

The crisis in Australia

The salient aspects of the economic crisis in Australia lead to an awareness of the unmistakable symptoms of legitimation, rationality and motivation crises. The key features of the crises are observable in countless societal forms at the level of government, in the form of economic problems and with respect to socio-cultural relationships. Among the many manifestations of the crises, some can be found in considerations of:

1. The impact of technology
2. The changing world of work
3. The culture of mass media

The impact of technology

It is not a simple matter to fully appreciate the effects, both observed so far and anticipated for the future, of vast and increasingly rapid technological development or change. Forecasts about the impact of technological development are often based, even if indirectly, on whether the present era is seen as representing continuity or discontinuity with past economic history. Continuity is supported by those who see the economic scene as cyclic, with alternation of boom and recession periods. Such supporters forecast a return of near-full employment and economic well-being after the current recession is over, while the others argue that this time, for a variety of factors, discontinuity with economic history will mean the need for completely new policies to assist social adjustments.

A survey of the literature on technological change reveals numerous writings published in the early 1970s of which Douglas (1971) is a typical collection. Less than a decade later predictions they made about technological developments and the 'exciting' possibilities seem incredibly out of date and lacking in perception, when we consider their failure to forecast the speed at which development would take place. Not all, but many authors of more recent times (e.g. Robson 1979; Hill 1980; and Jones 1982) do perceive the ever increasing speed, impetus and snow-balling effect of current technology and the effects on the 'full employment' ideal. When some people choose to ignore the rapidity and more particularly the effects, they are not properly looking to the future. They sometimes hide their inadequacy by acting a little blasé about technological possibilities and then conceal their surprise when a previously unexpected development suddenly dominates the scene. Those of us who behave this way are probably reacting to what Toffler (1970)

called 'future shock' or the 'shattering stress and disorientation' that is induced in individuals by 'subjecting them to too much change in too short a time' (p. 12).

Cromie (1982) in a discussion of the future use of intelligent robots, takes the optimistic viewpoint that it will be the hard, dangerous, demeaning and stultifying jobs that are taken over. No attempt is made to examine the effects of 'robotisation' in areas where intellectual demands are normally made of humans, nor is there any commentary on the effects on the fabric of our society other than the mention of the 'relief' some people should have when there are no longer any nasty jobs to do.

Late in 1978 a Committee of Inquiry into Technological Change in Australia was appointed to report on technological change and its consequences. The resulting Meyers Report (1980) notes that concern about impacts of new technology on the structure of work and society was common in the past and suggests that the latest micro-electronic developments in the current period of economic recession are typical of previous concerns in past economic cycles. The Report takes the optimistic view that 'technological unemployment' is an extreme notion that ignores both 'the extra income and spending power generated by technological change and the existence of unsatisfied needs or wants in the community' (p. 72). The benefits of increased profits for owners, higher wages and better conditions for employees, lower prices for consumers and higher taxation income for the government are nominated in the Meyers Report as the returns from increases in the total demand for goods and services that result from recycling of extra income through the economy. The Committee went so far as to say that they believed that '... historical evidence shows that technological change has in the long term created wealth and employment, and that future technological changes will continue to have this effect' (p. 74).

Jones (1982) is critical of the Meyers Report and its emphasis on economic optimism. This is because although the Report accepts the possibility of difficult periods of transition it does not consider long-term structural or technological unemployment. When questioning the use of past economic history as the best guide for that of the future, Jones points out that it will not be possible for the required current adaptation requirements to occur over a period of several decades as was the case in the past. He shows that the current dominant employment group in most countries, including Australia, is delineated by numerous service activities and this differs from the previous dominance by the manufacturing and directly related industrial services. He argues that with 'the development of a global economy and the rapid diffusion of low-cost micro-electronic technology, the sheer rate of change poses unprecedented problems' (p. 35).

An information paper by Mapperson (1979) was written for the 'Committee for Economic Development of Australia' and discusses 'pros' and 'cons' of the issues raised by technological change. Points in favour were:

1. The efficiency/productivity increase at lower unit cost
2. The chance of higher living standards and job enrichment
3. Enhanced choice of consumer items from an increased range

Typical of the concern about rapid introduction of technological change were:

1. The substitution of capital for labour leading to unemployment
2. Polarisation of the community into
   (a) a relatively small technological elite able to enjoy and adapt to changing circumstances
   (b) a much larger proportion of people who lack the background and attitudes to be able to adjust
3. Possible environmental considerations
4. Diminution of job satisfaction in some instances

The issues that Mapperson cites as the most important are those of unemployment and polarisation.

This importance is identified by Mapperson because:

1. The acceleration of rate of change reduces time available for reaction to the extent that unions and employees are not readily able to respond, especially as they are not accustomed to such pressure
2. The impact of innovation is increasingly affecting all sectors of the economy
3. The relatively static nature of most developed economies tends to reduce the capacity to accommodate and adjust to change

These reasons are certainly momentous. After consideration of many aspects Mapperson concludes that 'Australia's best interests will be served by seeking to exploit new technologies to the full'. He goes on to say that *if* 'the possibility of benefits being disproportionately distributed is recognised' then 'other social policies should be designed to achieve a more even spread of benefits' (p. 27). Like Mapperson, most people would realise the need to adopt new technologies and indeed would see this as an inevitable result of market forces. However there will be a need for many people to free themselves from accepting the inevitability of the current form, function and consequences of capitalism so that they can propose real solutions which though radical, certainly will be necessary. Concerns that derive from changes in techniques and the changing nature of work certainly serve as a powerful reminder of the important interaction between the economic and social structure that make up the fabric of our society. It becomes essential for us to see the symptoms of the current economic and rationality crises as representing discontinuity with previous economic history. As such, the lack of precedent and seriousness of the current economic scene may provide the drive for new, necessary and appropriate action to be planned and implemented.

The importance of this notion of discontinuity is emphasised when the possible consequence of power concentration is contemplated. If our society has come to an unprecedented turning point we may see the present distribution of wealth and power consolidated during a struggle of the strong against the weak and the rich against the poor. Those introducing and operating the new labour-saving techniques of production and service would not only be in control of technological development, but also would be in a powerful position to assume control

of most aspects of society. Jones (1982) describes a situation of positional advantage which is typical of the effect of power concentration:

> The tendency towards consolidation and oligopoly continues in Australia, with record profits (and some increases in the labour force) in large and often overseas-controlled enterprises while many small locally owned firms collapse into bankruptcy. Two contrary movements may occur simultaneously: the large firms computerize and grow, while the small ones fail to computerize and go under. The overall result is a net job loss—but the computer-users maintain their positional advantage where, for example, employment goes up by 10% and output increases by 80%. The computer is a vital element in a winning strategy—a tool for determining who wins and who loses. But winning on a large scale involves a major positional advantage—most must lose that some may win: the positions are entirely relative (1982, p. 113).

The political and socio-cultural aspects of our society are the basis of a fragile consensus on which our democratic system itself depends. A warning is clear enough:

> Technology is a political instrument and becomes an end in itself. Power will move towards the controllers of technology and away from a poorly informed and increasingly apathetic electorate (Jones 1982, p. ix)

The relationship between control and technology is real and serious, but there are also other related and equally serious social consequences. Among these, Windschuttle (1980) details the critical effects upon the younger members of our population and argues that they should not be blamed for negative attitudes and psychological barriers to developing positive alternatives to work. Normality used to be, and still is, partly defined by an expectation of having to work for a living. Failing to find a first job or becoming unemployed in a society where your worth is determined by how hard you work is an expression of denial of accomplishment—a certain dent in one's self-esteem. A revised definition of work is urgently required as opportunities for what used to be regarded as normal work activity rapidly shrink.

The changing world of work

Rightly or wrongly, developments in technology at times are nominated as the main factor behind modified attitudes to work and the phenomenon of unemployment and as such are seen as a prime cause of the current economic crisis. Technological change can be described as alteration to the technical parameters associated with design, production, distribution and use of devices, materials and processes—the most significant example being the use of computer intelligence for these purposes. It is possible, however, to find technological change nominated as a cause of both favourable and unfavourable changes in everyday life.

Headlines and featured news articles or commentaries on mounting unemployment in Australia are frequent and although their message is deplored, the phenomenon of unemployment has been accepted by many citizens as something that would disappear as soon as governments find solutions to the problem. Optimistic belief in the inevitability of an eventual resolution can be common and continually reinforced by spokesmen for opposition parties of either main persuasion in federal and state governments, when they insist that their own approach to the problem would be successful, if they could be given the chance to govern. Any current lack of employment opportunities thus is regarded hopefully by many as an aberration when compared with the economic and social relations that Australia enjoyed in the 1950s and 1960s. But,

continual steep inflation, reduction of consumer demand allied with over-production, the breakdown of the meritocracy principle and no real hope for a reduction of unemployment suggest that the high-low alternation of the economic cycle is broken and that the crisis is of a totally different order to any observed before.

Factors which contribute to the revision of social attitudes towards work and unemployment are identified easily enough, but it depends upon one's perspective as to whether or not insidious causal elements are recognised. Baldock (1978) describes two models of social reality for the illumination of the relationships within the contemporary situation.

1. In the first model a perspective embedded in the outlook of structural-functionalism maintains that increased economic growth and industrialisation will be responsible for improved standards of living, greater social equality, an emphasis upon achievement and meritocracy and an increased use of technology and scientific knowledge. A pluralistic political structure with opportunity for participatory democracy is correlated to this first perspective.

2. Alternatively, conflict theory when used to look at capitalism in Australia, shows only a concentration of ownership and enterprise and a continuing pursuit of profit and power on the part of private enterprise. The major fields of activity in health, welfare, law, mass media and education are said to play their part in an integration with government action to propagate capitalist ideology.

A role exists for the influence of hard technology in both models, although in the latter case social technology or engineering is very much in evidence.

If we take the first pluralistic model, the use of advances in technology should provide us with optimism about improved conditions all round. The facts that this result is not apparently forthcoming and that increases in unemployment and underemployment are occurring would be explained by using the pluralistic nature of the social environment to blame other intervening factors. The second model indeed provides no room for optimism as we see technological developments in the milieu of Western capitalism becoming at least partly responsible for significant social change to which adjustment will at the very least, be difficult.

Activity 2.2
Examine Document 2.1 (overleaf) in order to determine which of the perspectives has been adopted by Lynch (1982).

The discussion about the influences of technological development serves to introduce some of the problems of our modern capitalist democracy which are becoming increasingly difficult for elected governments to manage. A significant problem relates to the rewards for individual achievement. During the early phases of capitalism, rewards came to people who were successful through appropriate interaction with market forces, but when the market lost its credibility it became normal to receive rewards for occupational success resulting from related schooling and training. Individual effort was the other requirement for the operation of this meritocracy principle. Currently the wide-scale capital replacement of labour in the form of technology is being effected in order to increase rates of return. The remaining work for many is either becoming increasingly routinised or specialised, even in highly professional fields. A crisis of motivation has penetrated the work of a

Document 2.1: The robots are on the march

Phillip Lynch

NO LONGER confined to the realms of fantasy, robots have emerged from our TV screens and are moving into industry, relieving workers of monotonous, unpleasant and hazardous tasks, and performing them with impressive speed and accuracy.

Today's robots are a serious technology which far-sighted overseas industrialists are pursuing. Australian industry, too, must march with the robots if it is to remain competitive.

Industrial robots are machines that can handle materials and parts and use tools, all under computer control. The most important characteristic is that in contrast to other forms of automation a robot can be programmed, sometimes very quickly, to perform different tasks. Robots are thus particularly suited to batch production, the manufacture on the same production line of different models of the same product, and to other limited-scale work which is often the lot of Australian manufacturers.

Since 1966, production and use of robots has expanded rapidly. The number in use in the world today has reached about 16,500 and could grow by up to 30 percent a year over this decade.

** Sir Phillip Lynch, Minister for Industry and Commerce, took a close look at industrial robots while in Europe and the US recently. In this article, he advocates their use in Australia.*

Individual companies in the US and Europe are reported to be producing more than 1000 robots a year.

The United States and the United Kingdom undertook much of the early research and development on industrial robots. However, Japan has moved to the forefront of robot production and use. It has about half the world's robots. Some plants using robots are operating unmanned for one shift each day.

In the face of these developments, Australian industry must pursue a similar course vigorously if it is to remain competitive with major trading nations on the local and export markets.

In some cases adoption of robots could well mean the difference between failure and survival of a business. In few instances will robotics not be important to an industry's development.

Productivity gains can be considerable. An Australian firm which used eight employees a shift to operate four die-casting machines is now able to operate with one employee a shift and is reported to be saving some $60,000 a year in rejects.

Yet the adoption of robots by Australian industry has been limited so far. The latest indication is that there are about 180 units installed or being installed compared with about 40 in 1979. The report of the committee of inquiry into technological change in Australia (the Myers Report) has identified robotics as one of six major new technologies of special relevance to Australia and has predicted that the Australian robot population will reach 1500 by 1990.

Most of the robots working today are so-called first-generation robots. These are essentially a mechanism controlled by a computer for the execution of simple repetitive tasks. They have no "sensing" ability and hence no adaptive control. First-generation robots have been used in welding, spray painting and simple materials-handling operations. The automotive industry has been a major user.

However, development of second-generation robots is well advanced. These have "sensory" ability — "vision," "touch" and/or "hearing." They are more "intelligent" and suitable for adaptive controls.

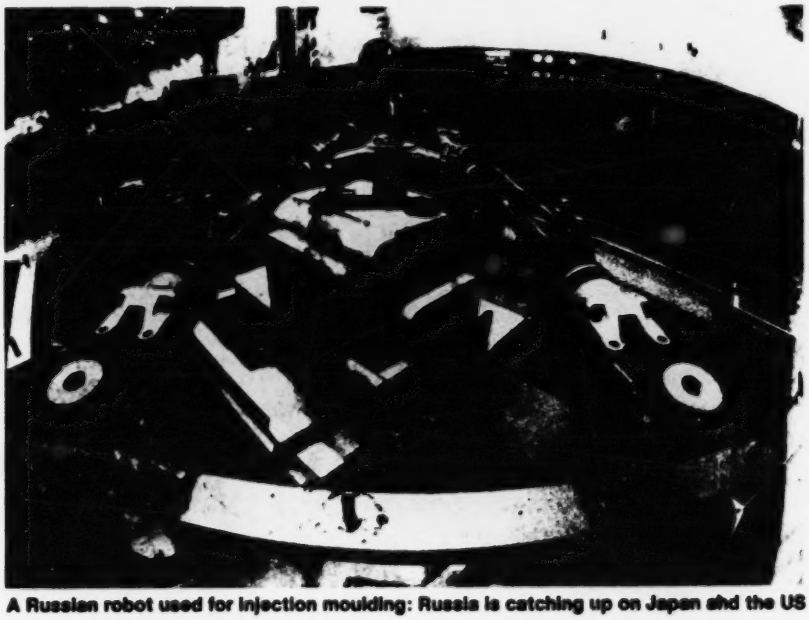
Apart from the usual industrial applications, robots are being used, or developed, for a wide range of purposes. One Japanese machine, while cleaning floors, can also act as a "watchdog" by detecting smoke, unusual noises or lights. There have been a number of medical applications, including a wheelchair with robot hands which can service bedridden patients with meals and carry them about.

Robots, because of the controlled nature of their operation, can significantly reduce material costs. One major manufacturer has stated that robotised spray painting, though producing only limited savings in labor costs, has greatly reduced paint consumption. The accuracy with which robots can perform repetitive functions can greatly improve quality and reduce the number of rejects.

Robots also do not tire. Provided they are maintained and operated properly, they can work three shifts a day, seven days a week, with the same level of efficiency.

I acknowledge that the introduction of robots often could reduce the number of employees per unit of production. However, it does not follow that overall employment would be similarly reduced. There has been no evidence in overseas countries such as Japan, the US and the UK that robots lead to reduced aggregate employment.

With increased productivity and reductions in unit costs, sales volume may increase, thereby creating new employment opportunities in the economy directly and through the indirect effect of higher incomes. □



A Russian robot used for injection moulding: Russia is catching up on Japan and the US

Source: Phillip Lynch, 'The robots are on the march', *Bulletin*, 30 March 1982, p. 100.
Reproduced by courtesy of the *Bulletin*.

wide spectrum of occupations as individual initiative and talent are perceived to play a smaller part in production of goods or provision of services.

Adjusting to what Wheelwright (1977) refers to as 'structured unemployment' is not going to be easy. If a puritan work ethic is still with us there is a clear need to have it redefined. Wheelwright also recommends the actions of reducing the labour supply by making higher and continuing education readily available, encouraging earlier retirements, creating conditions for shorter hours and increased social benefits and the motivating of people towards social objectives. Two other terms which are currently being aired and which may well be worthwhile developing into useful movements are 'job sharing' and 'serious leisure'. Job sharing implies part-time work for more than one person. Unfortunately employers do not encourage this possibility, because if a full-time employee elects to work part-time this often places them in the vulnerable position of being the first to be retrenched if a later climate dictates tight employment measures. Serious leisure is a concept that is only beginning to receive attention.

'Work' is acknowledged to be a socially defined concept (Illich 1978) and as such could be redefined to include activities of 'use value' even though these activities are usually not defined as work because they have no tangible marketable commodity in the form of a product or labour. Jones (1982) proposes a five-sector analysis of the occupations of an extended labour force and includes men and women working without remuneration within the home, unpaid community work and home-based economic activity such as craftwork and do-it-yourself activities. Among the list of advantages for his analysis are the key ideas of:

1. The acknowledgement that certain people are entitled to be recognised as workers, e.g. housewives and retired people active in community work

2. The placing of employment in a context of time-use and life-commitment rather than income

3. The recognition of the economic and social significance of the 'informal economy'

4. The emphasis on the economics of 'use value' rather than 'market value'

These principles make sense and correlate well with the predictions made by Toffler (1981) when he discusses new life-styles that could become allied with changes in market patterns and technological development. Toffler proposes that the life-styles for many will involve less work with less earnings but will have compensations for individuals because they will have the time to supply their own labour for tasks that would have otherwise cost them money. Using the meanings of the words 'producer' and 'consumer', he invents the word 'prosumer' to describe the do-it-yourself trend that represents production for one's own use rather than production for others. It is suggested that this change of emphasis will help to 'create life-styles that are more rounded and varied, less monotonous, more creatively satisfying, and less market-intensive' (p. 290).

Windschuttle (1980) argues that such redefinitions of 'work' will not induce the desired effect in people of the modern capitalist state. He maintains that unemployed people may at times act as prosumers but

nevertheless will *feel* unemployed and be denied both the status and income of a person in employment. The argument is based upon the notion that:

> Work defines our standing with our fellows, our self-esteem, our income level, the scope of our lives. It is the most basic definition of our concept of humanity. Unemployment is not something that can be rationalized away. Without a job people lack the most important social determinant of identity (Windschuttle 1980, p. 275).

Two types of work are identified by Jones (1982). The first is where the ratio of output and total input is used to measure productivity. It is here that a capital-intensive emphasis applies and its title is 'Labour/time-saving work'. The second form is 'Labour/time-absorbing work' which encompasses an area which is labour-intensive and includes people working in a vocation-oriented sphere where market forces are irrelevant—such as in education, health and welfare, administration, research and tourism. Obviously the greatest hopes for expanding future employment opportunities in the modern era lie in areas of employment that are labour/time-absorbing and which are not subject to direct competition from technology. Windschuttle (1980) proposes that major new technological innovations that create jobs throughout society could be related to development of the solar energy alternative. The basis of the suggestion is that not only would jobs be created directly and indirectly, but huge savings on energy would result: financial savings which may then be spent on further products and services. Environmentalists would certainly approve of this move, as would all those who in recent times have become increasingly aware of the extraordinary problems involved in the passive acceptance of technological determinism.

The Department of Labor and Immigration as early as 1975 suggested that planning for technological change should include early warning of new developments and consultation of employers with employees on matters of employment planning and retrenchment. Robson (1979) suggests that the important role of the unions will have increased complexity as retention of jobs is related to increased wages, attention to acquisition of skills and quality of working life. The evolution of any outcome should have some powerful thought and action applied to it, for otherwise evolution could become a bitter struggle between two polarised groups. It seems that the share of the Gross National Product (GNP) that normally goes to private ownership may have to be reduced to help support the whole community in a more equitable way. Such a decision will have to be taken at the level of governmental policy making and one could predict that pressures which bring this about will need to be enormous and well applied before the decision is put into operation.

The proposal on the more equitable distribution of the wealth of the nation recognises the current economic crisis as being without precedent: as a discontinuity in our social development. Revisions of world-wide attitudes to work and equitable distribution of wealth will be necessary for the 'good life' to evolve in the future. Preference will have to be given to the adoption of technology which will 'enhance and extend human capacity, dignity, diversity and understanding' (Jones 1982, p. 238).

The culture of mass media

It probably goes without saying that the communication media, whether it be the printed word in the form of newspapers, magazines or books or the broadcasted word in the form of radio and TV, are an important artefact of our society. Rivers et al. (1971) list the major purposes as surveillance of the environment, correlation of the components of society in responding to the environment, transmission of the social heritage and entertainment. When accepting these purposes, we are at the same time acknowledging the great importance the media have for our way of life.

Newspapers were the first significant medium of communication for large numbers of people, with each person choosing when the paper would be read and what to select for reading. The advent of radio and then TV provided additional media from which the receivers of communication could select, although in these latter cases the time to receive was fixed by the broadcasters' program schedules. The three main regular media are qualified using the descriptor 'mass' because of their large audiences, traditionally termed 'the masses'. Barr (1977) reminds us of the consequent detracting charges that 'the mass media manufacture cultural products for mass markets, thereby transforming us into a mass society' and that 'the mass media produce only those products suitable for mass consumption, that they standardise values and tastes, encourage audience passiveness, and manipulate mass opinion' (p. 7). There are no real arguments that contradict these charges individually, but the charges are questionable when one considers that any large audience must be quite diverse in composition due to differing subculture, age, values, interests and opinions. Nevertheless one cannot fail to be concerned about both the prominent nature of the role of mass media as they influence our society and the lack of critical appraisal of the content on the part of the viewing public.

We tend to take the mass media of our world for granted, thus overlooking their importance. As Rivers et al. (1971) remind us, we often see the media as a type of accidental by-product of technology that has been taken over by hucksters, propagandists and manipulators. That view may have some truth in it, for the media do perform to influence the social, economic and political orders, but it must be recorded that although the media influence the public, there are ways in which the public influence the media.

There exists an interesting comparison of functions of the media whereby the apparent relationship of two highly significant activities appears to be somewhat paradoxical. On one hand we would have to acknowledge that the media are in a position to be a strong agency of social control and thus able to influence social change significantly. On the other hand there are ways of showing that the media have the capacity to be a powerful agent for maintaining the status quo. The paradox perhaps comes from a superficial treatment of the functions and powers of the media. It is based upon the comparison between the optimistic proposal that the media respond positively to libertarian values of free and responsible human action, and the much more pessimistic suggestion that the media are a means used by interests which stand to gain by retaining and exaggerating the current socio-economic system of relationships. Of course it should be realised that both proposals are supportive of the notion that the mass media influence social change, for in one way we are being told that the media can be influential in bringing about social change whilst the other view is that the influence is

such that it prevents social change. Both approaches point to the significant relationship between mass media and socio-cultural relationships.

Klapper (1960) came down in favour of an approach that satisfies both proposals. He suggested that mass communication functions through a nexus of mediating factors and influences and does not ordinarily serve as a necessary or sufficient cause of change. The mediating factors are said to be such that they usually render the media as a contributory agent rather than a sole cause in the process of reinforcing existing socio-economic conditions. Klapper also claims that on the occasions when the media are successful in bringing about change, it is because the mediating factors are inoperative or are in fact impelling toward change rather than reinforcement. It would appear from this that we should conclude that mass media in our society are controlled by whoever has reasons for an interest in contriving and directing the mediating factors. The interest presumably would have to be self-interest.

The 'Code of Ethics' of the Australian Journalists Association provided by Marshall (1974) contains noble sentiments such as 'scrupulous honesty', nil suppression of essential facts or distortion of the truth and avoidance of the influence of personal interests. Those who believe that the code is strictly applied may well wonder how the above sinister eduction about control through self-interest could be derived.

Westergaard (1977) discusses problems faced by journalists and shows at first that it may appear simple enough to accept a link between a positive social responsibility of the media in western societies and liberal democratic theory. The postulate of the theory is that power is ' "pluralistically" diffused among a diversity of separate competing groups and interests of which none is dominant'. Liberal democrats would view the media as parts of the machinery by which 'rival pressures and policy proposals are expressed, made known, brought to arbitration, in a multiple contest that makes for shifting equilibria of influence' (p. 98). Westergaard acknowledges that this pluralistic model runs counter to a Marxist interpretation which assigns continuing dominant influence to a single set of interests. He tells how the liberal democratic point of view claims to draw strength from the fact that there can be difficulty in attributing dominance to a particular interest such as privately owned business. In the face of this difficulty Westergaard (1977) nevertheless takes an opposing stance and maintains that:

> private capital retains dominant power throughout western liberal democracy : not because business and its identifiable representatives continuously predominate in active decision making, or because specific measures advocated by them inevitably prevail; not to the effect that unions and shopfloor workers always draw the shortest straws in bargaining and conflict with employers or government, by the terms in which those disputes are cast; not in the sense that the state is best described as a 'committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie', metaphorical point though there still is to that description; but because the everyday working assumptions of economy and polity, above all the routine criteria of resource allocation—the continuing terms, therefore, by which conditions of life are framed and, significantly, within which jockeying for influence by rival groups takes place—are still terms set to the maintenance of private capital and geared to its interests (1977, p. 100).

The system of capitalism that prevails in our western society is based upon private ownership and vested interests. If expressed, radical views which oppose the requirement of maintenance of the status quo may not be tolerated because they strike at the heart of the major system of capitalism in our society. The role of the mass media needs to be

considered in the context of everyday working assumptions of economy and polity, which of course includes resource allocation. When this is done, the terms are set for the maintenance of private capital and the gearing of its interests and thus the economic logic of property, profit and markets is used, rightly or wrongly, as a natural and given premise. The use of critical theory by Sinclair (1974) in a discussion of mass media and society is an attempt to alert us to assumptions that are made without clear understanding and acknowledgment, and also that it is such assumed underpinning which can have insidious influence upon agents involved in our socio-economic development.

Further support for the argument that emphasises the power of the mass media is provided by Theophanous (1980) who says:

> The mass media – radio, television, newspapers and magazines – are supposedly concerned to inform, entertain and, to a lesser degree, educate the huge audiences and readerships which they attract. Underlying these noble aims, however, is a more insidious one: the mass media seek to create and sustain a world view, a complex system of beliefs and values about life and society, which has the effect of justifying and legitimizing the existent power structures (1980, p. 209).

and by Mayer (1976) who writes:

> Any medium is not a passive channel but an active shaper. It mobilises, depresses, reinforces, and legitimises. It deeply influences attitudes towards the system we live under and whether that system needs changing ... Thus we can ask: why has this rather than that selection been made, whose interests does this rather than that selection promote or bypass or downgrade? To discuss mass media seriously is to raise questions of this kind (1976, p. 169).

The influence upon mass media (commercial in particular) of non-state, private ownership occurs through the need of the media to take advertising in order to stay in business by making a profit. McQueen (1977) claims that advertising is the key link between the mass commercial media and monopoly capitalism. He goes so far as to say that 'the commercial mass media are advertisements which carry news, features and entertainment in order to capture audiences for the advertisers' (p. 10). This view is in keeping with the views of Westergaard (1977) and is certainly eloquently supported by Winston (1973), Adorno & Horkheimer (1977), McQuail (1977) and Murdock & Golding (1977).

Advertising originally used to be an attempt to redivide markets amongst competing firms, but because of overproduction the emphasis of our capitalist society changed from productivity to consumption, so new markets had to be created. This called for vigorous campaigning, imaginative approach and the expenditure of vast amounts of money. The accounts of advertising interests need to be respectfully observed by the media, and it should be obvious that despite noble sentiments of journalism and the critical faculties of the media industry, very little chance would be likely for anything but support for the essence of capitalism. Radical critique could rarely be contemplated unless it was presented in such a way that the reactionary perception would result in further reinforcement of the status quo. McQuail (1977) is one among many authors who from the Marxist perspective describes mass media as the production of cultural forms which are consonant with the dominant ideology. Adorno & Horkheimer (1977) remind us that as the broadcasting media have no machinery for immediate rejoinder, we have a situation where 'the basis on which technology acquires power over society is the power of those whose economic hold over society is greatest' (p. 350).

It has been intended that you should see a key function of mass media as maintenance of the status quo or reproduction of culture supportive of basic capitalistic assumptions. Although the relationship is complex and convoluted it needs to be said that the facilitation of socio-economic development by the mass media or culture manufacturers can take the form of an ideology that is a representation of capitalism. As the polarisation of our society (to which we referred previously) continues, the part played by mass media in creating turmoil should become more apparent.

The crisis in historical perspective

Hill (1980) describes four previous technological ages of textiles, railways, electricity and the internal combustion engine. Each of these represents a cycle whereby large-scale restructuring of production and social relations occurred and growth was borne along by the opportunities each age created. The current 'computer intelligence' age is thought to be atypical by comparison. The significant rise in prices of food and oil from 1972, the downswing in the effects of the age of the internal combustion engine, the decline in mass consumption of what has become a consumer society, may seem to set the scene for a take-off into a new age but these trends also represent a 'saturation of previously released economic opportunities' (p. 74). The microprocessor age is unfortunately set in a context of falling birth rates, labour intensive investment in South-East Asia, severely reduced consumption and higher labour costs, so the substitution of capital for labour in a system such as ours undoubtedly will occur. The trend of increased concentration of business enterprise and capital that was a phenomenon of previous ages is the one sure development in the new age. Previous cycles generated employment during the related economic upswings, but the latest technological development is significantly different, in that although the first immediate effect is to create jobs in its own industry, it eliminates jobs across much of the rest of the employment spectrum.

Jones (1982, pp. 1–8) agrees with this initial analysis of the current scene and he relates a historical approach which is from a different and informative perspective. He begins by showing that the major effects of what has become known as the 'industrial revolution' were:

1. The decline of small-scale subsistence farming and the increase of large-scale, high-volume, commercial agriculture
2. An increase in the number of employees in manufacturing and mining industries to an extent that for the first time numbers employed in such industries exceeded the number employed in agriculture
3. A centralising tendency for places of work, taking work out of a home or closely related vicinities
4. The intensification of a division of labour which brought about elimination of self-employed craftsmen and the introduction of unskilled process work
5. Machine replacement, or extension of human capacity
6. The rise of the urban middle class, increasing diversity of city life and substantial increases in service employment (servants, shopkeepers, railway and transport workers)

Then follows a 'post-industrial' change in the economy where agriculture, mining, manufacturing, construction and related industries

no longer employ the majority of the labour force. Typical of the major effects were:

1. A decline in labour/time-saving employment and a rise in service employment, such as selling, office work, teaching, media, administration and other labour/time-absorbing work activities

2. An increasing reliance of the economy on the collecting, processing, storing and retrieving of information

3. The development of a global economy and the growth in power of multinational corporations accompanied by a corresponding loss of power by individual nations to control their own economic destinies

4. The passing of the post-war era of full employment by about 1975

5. A significant development whereby educational qualifications definitely become the devices used to allow entry into secure and satisfying employment, with educational 'failure' being used to impose heavy social and economic penalties

6. The development of micro-electronics accompanied by the possibility of an exponential increase in output using less labour, energy and capital. (This particular aspect being the principal reason for 'discontinuity' or the arrival of a period that is not typical of any other in past economic history.)

The era predicted to follow the post-industrial emphasis upon service employment is labelled by Jones as a 'post-service' phase and it is proposed as a phase that is having its effects now and in the immediate future. Among the major predictions are:

1. A sudden reduction in routine employment which can be replaced by computerised operations

2. A sharp fall in employment in areas of manufacturing where computerisation is essential for survival with respect to both the local and global economy

3. A future tendency toward a non-political corporate state because of a reduction in the number of matters with which lay people will feel competent to deal—a situation of technological determinism in which 'technical' problems are left to technicians to solve

4. The irrelevance of the traditional work ethic requiring changes in worker relationships to employment, time use and to each other

5. Mounting tension between the employed information-rich and the group of unemployed information-poor who obviously will not have the affluence of the former group

6. The generation of new types of labour/time-absorbing employment which is not dependent upon technological development—activities suggested include craftwork, research, sport, leisure and do-it-yourself activities

Another view of changes in the past and for the future is provided by Toffler (1981) in his attempt to 'sketch the emergent society of tomorrow' and a 'potentially hopeful pattern'. He condenses the history of mankind into three phases and uses a grand metaphor of colliding waves of change. The 'First Wave' of change is that of the agricultural revolution which he says 'took thousands of years to play itself out' (p. 24). The rise of industrial civilisation is the 'Second Wave' of change that took about 300 years. Currently, we are told, we are experiencing the 'Third Wave' which should 'complete itself in a few decades' (p. 24). His enthusiastic descriptions of the Third Wave begin on a realistic note and

suggest, under appropriate conditions, most optimistic predictions for the future. The economic crisis and the crises of legitimation and rationality are referred to in his own terms, while the Third Wave provides the backdrop for remarkable changes.

> The Third Wave brings with it a genuinely new way of life based on diversified, renewable energy sources; on methods of production that make most factory assembly lines obsolete; on new, non-nuclear families; on a novel institution that might be called the 'electronic cottage'; and on radically changed schools and corporations of the future. The emergent civilization writes a new code of behaviour for us and carries us beyond standardization, synchronization, and centralization, beyond the concentration of energy, money, and power.
>
> This new civilization, as it challenges the old, will topple bureaucracies, reduce the role of the nation-state, and give rise to semi-autonomous economies in a post-imperialist world. It requires governments that are simpler, more effective, yet more democratic than any we know today. It is a civilization with its own distinctive world outlook, its own ways of dealing with time, space, logic, and causality.
>
> Above all, as we shall see, Third Wave civilization begins to heal the historic breach between producer and consumer, giving rise to the 'prosumer' economics of tomorrow. For this reason, among many, it could—with some intelligent help from us—turn out to be the first truly humane civilization in recorded history (Toffler 1981, p. 24–5).

At the same time as views of such positive futures are espoused, we can find basic discussions on whether or not the new age will affect employment opportunities. Those who predict increased employment are expecting the next boom period and are probably overlooking the complete nature of 'economic crises'. Robson (1979) is one of many authors who makes the prediction of reduced employment. He points out the penetration of the microprocessor in areas such as retail trading, banking and administration where there was an assumption of relative safety of positions. There are of course instances where a major effect is improved quality of the output rather than decreased costs or a reduced need for labour, however this is not common. Temple (1982) provided an impressive TV presentation of the problem and gave many examples that support the content of the Robson article. Some of Temple's examples were stunning, but his quip that a massive telephone exchange can now be operated by a man and a dog brought in a touch of harsh reality. Apparently the role of the dog is to guard the exchange and the task of the man is to feed the dog. This situation appears to be representative of the post-service era that has been predicted by Jones. Imaginative reflection is certainly required to relate this situation to the dramatic predictions of Toffler's Third Wave.

Crisis tendencies, education and schooling

The school and its community

How then have the effects of the economic and technological crisis, and the crises of rationality, legitimacy and motivation affected schools and their communities? With regard to schools and their communities, the word 'crisis' need not always be seen as having a negative emphasis on a situation made up of unresolved problems, but as a means for suggesting a springboard from which the uncertainties of the current situation can lead to exciting possibilities for the future.

There is no denying that the current social situation is one of turmoil. The results of advanced technology, the problems of unemployment, and the growing sense of change and division in our multicultural society are only some of the effects which can be observed. Each day as we read newspapers, listen to radio, watch TV, and talk with colleagues or

students, we are alerted to situations which very much relate to what could best be called societal crisis. Sometimes the turmoil appears to have little relationship to education and schooling, but more often than not the intended learning in educational institutions is fundamentally affected in some way.

Some of the reciprocity of influences between the school and its community can be detected when reports about unfortunate events or extraordinary successes appear in the popular press. Document 2.2 (Reid 1981) is an example of a particular interaction in which schools are concerned, but where the blame is being laid in other directions.

Activity 2.3

Read Document 2.2 (Reid 1981) and contemplate the reasons why a planned community living area set up to ostensibly improve living standards affects so dramatically what happens in a school.

Document 2.2: School violence may spark 'cure' for social ills
Alan Reid

A FIGHT between two young girls over a boy, and the subsequent large scale inter-school clash of juveniles in Sydney's western suburbs, have the potential to produce housing, transport, recreational and social innovations that the warnings of social workers have failed to achieve.

If the incidents, which needed massive police intervention, did nothing else they pointed to something that has always had anti-social potential – the existence within a large city of an unnaturally isolated community, with a dreary sameness of social standards and a difficulty in securing access to social outlets which are available to the more affluent section.

As NSW Premier Neville Wran sees it, the inter-school clash between pupils of Bidwell High and Plumpton High was the product of juvenile frustration, in one sense a spree as much as a riot.

But the juveniles of today are the young men and women of tomorrow, and what Wran urgently wants to avoid is letting Sydney's west become the breeding ground of the ugly Brixton-type violence by young people that recently surfaced in British cities.

Wran acted swiftly over the western suburbs juvenile upsurge, which is understandable. He is a toughminded man. I do not think that an occasional flurry of violence would upset him unduly (though he was clearly shaken by the viciousness of the violence at the end of the Qatar v England soccer match at the SCG which he witnessed). He was raised in Balmain back in the days when it was a tough area, not the semi-fashionable place it is today, and a pub brawl on a Friday night was a way of life, not a national crisis.

But there are degrees of violence. And on recent visits to the western suburbs Wran has witnessed incidents, repeated incidents of violence, that went viciously well beyond his boyhood experiences.

To that extent, Wran's mind was preconditioned even before the Bidwell-Plumpton clash.

He had already formed the opinion that it was just not good enough to provide people with houses, however good and then dump them in an isolated position in conditions of dreary sameness.

When Wran conferred with community leaders from the Bidwell-Plumpton area, his personal unease was confirmed. The community leaders told of Australian youngsters, living within 50 kilometres of beaches, who had never been to a beach. A clergyman told of organising a bus for a beach outing and of so many children turning up that he had to organise a second one.

Others pointed out that there were few milk bars, if any, where a boy could sit down with his girlfriend and linger over a milkshake. They were expected to drink up and get the hell out of the shop. The streets were the only places where they could socialise.

Lack of transport also tied people down within a narrow area. If a single-parent mother took her children to the city, transport costs represented half her weekly pension, so she seldom took them. People could not move even within the area of their own suburbs. There was virtually no local public transport.

Strangely, the complaints were not so much about the lack of facilities for formal, organised recreation – such as sports – but about the shortage of places for individuals' recreation and meeting places for small groups.

Superimposed on this was a high degree of unemployment among the young, brothers and sisters of those still at school who had to give false home addresses – other than their true Mount Druitt home addresses – to even get an interview for a job, as employers were suspicious of the work attitudes of job applicants from the far western working class area.

One aspect, which even Wran would admit is probably insoluble, was the problem of the one-parent family, 30 percent of the families in the district, with children coming home to empty houses and left unsupervised to roam the streets until the parent got home from work.

To his credit, Wran appears prepared to tackle the soluble parts of the western suburbs' problem, in his word, "aggressively."

Wran has told his officials –

- In all future Housing Commission operations, the emphasis must be changed. The aim must be to secure a social mix, not just miles of isolated commission homes.
- Residents of these isolated western suburbs must be given better transport facilities to enable them to become more easily part of the Sydney community.
- Proprietors of community resorts, such as milk bars and other places where juveniles gather and let off steam, must be persuaded that it is in their interests, not merely to make a profit from their customers but to provide amenities, of a kind normal in longer established suburbs.

Wran has also commissioned Mrs Carmel Niland, Counsellor for Equal Opportunity, and a woman with an interesting background – among other things she taught for three years in New York State in schools with racial problems – to live almost totally in the western suburbs for the next few weeks and to provide him with a report.

Even if the problems in the already established western suburbs may in part prove insoluble because of circumstances already in existence, Wran appears determined that the factors which produced these problems will be avoided as much as possible in Sydney's future outer growth areas. □

Source: Alan Reid, 'School violence sparks "cure" for social ills', *Bulletin*, 10 November 1981. Reproduced by courtesy of the *Bulletin*.

The situation described in Document 2.2 could be interpreted as a clear example of a Habermasian argument about advanced capitalist societies. The crisis in the administrative system has lead to a failure to produce the requisite rational decisions and has in turn engendered problems typical of a motivation crisis.

The degree of interactive complexity which apparently should be predicted in planning for the construction of urban localities is significant and often not fully appreciated. It would appear that usually it is only after the facilities are used that we begin to really understand the intense interaction of factors which may lead to a major flare-up such as violence. Connell et al. (1982) when discussing space and cities describe some of the problems and hardship that follow rapid planning and development. They convey a sense of the endless problems which could be depressing for the members of the working class involved, but for their energetic and creative approach to tackling bleak conditions.

The school is accepted as an artefact of our society and we correctly assume that there is interaction between a school and its community. An example of an attempt to increase communication between teachers in schools and a group in the community is reported in Document 2.3 (Gillies 1982). It may come as a surprise to read that an employer group is pressing for openness in schools. Some people have always imagined that there could be no mystique about schooling, mainly because everyone in the community had experience of it and many are only too willing to display their authority when discussing curriculum and teaching procedures at the forum of the School Council or Parents' Association. Forces do exist however to reduce the open nature of schools. For instance, there are strategies used by the teaching profession such as the preservation of technical jargon and the right to specialised professional judgment that amount to mystification. Exclusive epistemology and professional specialism are seen by Bates (1980) as devices for the maintenance of teacher–client distance and the extension of the power of the teacher in comparison with the power of the pupils.

Activity 2.4

Read Document 2.3 (Gillies 1982). In your opinion, how accurate is the view expressed? What might be seen as the possible dangers inherent in a move by teachers to bring the activities of the school closer to the needs of the community?

Document 2.3: Be more open, schools told
Mark Gillies

The school fence often acted as a security blanket into which teachers could withdraw to avoid contact with the community, an employer group manager said today.

Victorian Employers' Federation Division manager, Mr Graham Stanley, said there was an "invisible barrier" between schools and the community.

"There is a great deal of mystique about education; people just don't understand what goes on in schools," he said.

Mr Stanley said teachers often avoided contact with parents and employers because of fears that their teaching could be challenged.

But the problems were not all on the teachers' side, he said.

"Many parents and even employers also feel this sense of uncertainty and even inferiority when having to confront teachers," he said.

Mr Stanley said on the occasions when parents or employers and teachers did get together they often could not understand each other.

"I've been along to my own children's parent-teacher nights and could not understand what the teachers were saying," he said.

"I was too embarrassed to ask any questions."

"If it's a problem for English-speaking parents what about migrant parents?" he said.

"There is also a wide gulf between educationalists and employers; they often think that what they are doing is none of the other person's business."

Mr Stanley said poor communications between teachers and the rest of the community could be improved if principals opened their schools and "marketed" them.

He said business and service groups should be invited into schools to see the education system "warts and all."

Mr Stanley said the groups should be allowed to hold meetings and speak to teachers.

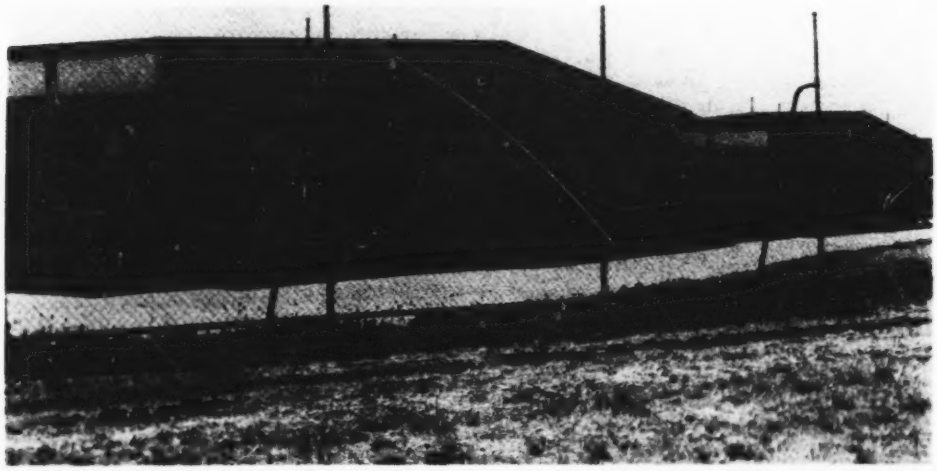
Mr Stanley said greater communications would allow teachers to find out what employers wanted in school leavers and also allowed employers to see what was being taught.

Source: Mark Gillies, 'Be more open, schools told', *Herald*, 12 July 1982, p. 11. Reproduced by permission of the *Herald*

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Two contrasting studies

In order to understand the effect of societal crises on administrative work in the school situation we conducted two interviews. One was with Miss Margaret Callister, Principal at Coolaroo Primary School in the outer northern area of Melbourne, and the other with Mr Graham Farley, Headmaster at Braemar Christian College at Woodend. The contrast between the two schools was even greater than our expectations had led us to predict for they each relate in dramatically different fashion to the current crises. The studies were not pursued to great depth, but the information gathered caused us to be even more aware of the diversity of attitude and activity in the practice of school administration, as well as the variety of ways the current crises impinged on the schools.



Coolaroo Primary School

This is situated on the flat plains of the most northern perimeter of Melbourne, just over three kilometres north of Broadmeadows. Coolaroo was established and populated as a State Housing Commission estate some eight years before the school was built. This distant suburb straddles a main north-south rail link although it is not serviced by suburban railway trains. Buses provide a meagre public transport service. Out to the east of the railway line where the school was built as a part of the earliest part of the suburb, the residents lack the benefits of community facilities for there are no churches with their associated amenities and only two shops. The Community Health Centre has a Turkish interpreter, a part-time social worker and a doctor. The area was settled by young families and when any family leaves, it seems to be replaced by a similar young family so that the normal wide spread of ages is not found in the Coolaroo community. The school is a State Primary School surrounded by a 2.5 metre high fence, with its two buildings separated by a similar fence in an attempt to limit vandalism. The migrant population of the school enrolment is 37% and there is a representation of 14 different nationalities whose mother tongue is a language other than English.

It became obvious in the discussion with Margaret Callister that in her case proximate community dilemmas and attitudes had a direct bearing on Coolaroo's organisation, curriculum and teaching methods.

When the Coolaroo four-unit open-planned school was opened, it was difficult to explain to mainly British and Turkish migrants that although the building looked different from the schools they remembered, it nevertheless would function 'like a school should'.

How does one confront the problem of parents who use their own contrasting education and school experiences as a conceptual framework for expectations about the education of their children? Margaret's rhetorical question and its problem are interesting because usually schools are not vigorous proponents of change, so the example described by Margaret is atypical because the conservative element is part of the immediate community rather than within the school itself.

Margaret went on to say:

I have worked in this area for many years and my greatest problem as an educational administrator is in trying to bring together what I have come to know of these people and the expectations the Education Department puts on us when we act in the role of parents in the school. While greater parental involvement is currently being pushed - and I've worked where parents did have knowledge and foresight and a very great interest in the school - here we have found quite definitely that the parents do not want involvement, they are afraid of it. Therefore I have to decide where I stand with regard to policy of the Education Department, the real community aspirations and expectations and of what I think the community is capable.

Margaret explained that it took them three and a half years to get a School Council and that when she knew the parents well enough, she was able to find out that the main reason they had trouble getting the Council started was that nobody wanted to put themselves forward as being interested in the School Council because they were afraid of the reaction of other members of the community. Putting themselves in authority over other people meant that they could expect reprisals. (Since its inception the school has been continuously vandalised and Margaret herself has been physically threatened. After some time however, school pride and a sense of ownership has gradually developed and vandalism is decreasing.) Other reasons given for not nominating for Council were that the parents felt that they did not have the knowledge to be Council members and that they were completely insecure. Margaret continued:

As parents they read in the papers that parents want this, or parents want that, and they hear in political policies that more parent involvement is needed in the schools and they are plain terrified. That is *my* biggest problem as the educational administrator in the school. What presents the most challenge – because it isn't all negative – is trying to strike that balance between Education Department directives and expectations, and what the community situation is.

As Margaret further explained:

Job specifications for principals in no way cover the things we are called on to do. Another thing that affects me as the administrator in a community with few community facilities is that people come for advice, to ask questions, to let off steam, to 'kick' somebody. I'm painfully aware I'm not qualified to talk to them as they need to be talked or listened to, but someone has to do it or the children – directly or indirectly – suffer. Probably half my time is actual social work and the office work still has to be done.

When discussing curriculum and teaching methods Margaret felt one of the constraints was the fact that the children in the school seemed to have a very, very low tolerance level, and that they reacted violently and could not bear to be crossed in any way. The staff were working on this but it had a dampening effect on what they were able to do.

In the case of Coolaroo Primary School each of the four interrelated categories of crisis referred to previously in relation to the global situation (pp. 20–1) can also be seen as having impact at the institutional level. Although the latest techniques in school planning were used as a basis for the building of physical facilities at Coolaroo, the collapse of optimum planning is shown in the failure by the authorities to communicate with or to parents of children who would attend the school prior to the building of the school. Therefore parents presented with a technical and cultural solution that they did not understand tended to suffer a motivation crisis in relation to the school as an educational institution. In addition, the lack of any other facilities within the community in this particular suburban area (as in many others such as that described in Document 2.2) also points to the production of a crisis in the cultural and motivational spheres.

The parents and the children in the Coolaroo school community also suffer from the effects of the motivational crisis as they juxtapose the inevitability of unemployment against a desire to get into the work force as soon as the school leaving age is reached. Thus a crisis of legitimation exists whereby the very purposes of education are questioned and it is difficult to maintain a sense of educational involvement in the community.

There is, at Coolaroo, a continual staff involvement in curriculum planning and development (the staff have found that children's achievements force a continual revision of the program) and workshops are conducted to educate and inform the community. All this is not sufficient to counteract the outside forces such as the effects of unemployment and so it appears impossible to neutralise the effects of the crises of legitimation and motivation.

Braemar College

Our visit to Braemar College, a secondary Christian college, and the discussion with Graham Farley gave a somewhat different picture of the role of an educational administrator. The school is set half-way up

Mt Macedon and all students (approximately 500) are bussed to and from the school each day. Graham suggested that problems in the community did not affect them greatly and a sense of 'being in a cocoon' was gained while in the school. Braemar was originally a guest house built in 1890 on the northern slopes of Mt Macedon, seven kilometres out of Woodend, 800 metres above sea level and it grew out of a community decision to start a Christian school when in 1975 Clyde Girls School left to merge with Geelong Grammar School and The Hermitage. The school is owned by Fellows, and Braemar College Limited is a company limited by guarantee. The shareholders are the Anglican, Catholic and Uniting churches and the three local shires of Newman-Woodend, Gisborne and Romsey which combine to give it a church-state ownership, ecumenically on the church side and shared on the community or local government level. Two executive officers were appointed, the headmaster to control the curriculum, academic and enrolment program of the school, and the bursar to control physical, financial and all other matters.

Graham suggested that when things are running well 'the amount the management (Board of Governors) wish to be involved is severely reduced'. The Head, appointed by the council, has complete autonomy over staff selection and he believes staff selection is crucial—he referred to the 'staff corporate' and believes it has a crucial influence on the school.

Graham states the major objectives and activities of the school:

> Braemar has finally decided we are here to teach literacy and numeracy, so half of the week's program—half of the number of periods in teaching—are devoted to English, French, Maths and Science.
>
> Six months before children are due to attend the school, we test them to try to pick up for the parents any handicaps in reading or mathematics. We have got six months planning and then on their first day at the school by themselves they are screened again and on the basis of the information on literacy they are streamed into three classes.
>
> We accept that the performance of the school at HSC level is still of importance, and that this is something that has currency throughout the community.
>
> If you have anything like an 80% pass rate at HSC level you are then accused of stopping people from sitting. I think it is fair to say that [at Braemar] you cannot get into HSC classes without a C pass in year 11 subjects. We are careful as to who comes into HSC, but nobody is ever stopped from sitting.
>
> It is not only HSC that is important, but employment and career advice. Without getting political I have yet to be convinced that there is a significant unemployment problem for students who are well groomed, courteous and literate. That is why I emphasise, therefore, some of Braemar's aims are to produce courteous, well groomed, literate children.
>
> As far as I know there are no unemployed former students. We do a lot of work on the transition to work program. If a former student is in contact with me and is seeking employment we sit down and start contacting parents.
>
> In a school like this there is active communication between parent-student-teacher about what subjects the student should do.
>
> [on crisis in the community] There is clearly one of standards.
>
> One of the problems that Braemar has is finding a spiritual approach. If we could find the same approach in spiritual matters as I think we have in an agreed, defensible, workable program in numeracy and literacy ...
>
> I would recognise that really what they (the parents who constitute the school community) want is that their children can read and write, are courteous, and have got career prospects ahead of them. To have career prospects these days you have got to have a well developed sense of morality, what is fair play, what is truth, what is justice, and how you respond in a situation of violence.

Enrolments at Braemar are rising and it would appear that the objectives are what the 'community' requires, for parents choose to send their children and pay the fees, although these are low compared with

the fees of large well-established private schools. It was obvious that the school community was not as one might see the community of Coolaroo School, for Graham explained:

> Probably the community is defined literally as the people who are associated with Braemar now. Although I would not use the word 'cocoon' I would say that you could describe us as 'monastic'.
>
> We isolate ourselves from most community dilemmas. We have opened for business as an alternative school with emphasis on academic activities, character building and morality.
>
> I think the people who planned the school got caught up with the then euphoria of the community doing this, that and the other. Seven years later the community is within Braemar.

It seems at Braemar the unemployment situation has been identified by the prospective clients and school curriculum planners as the most threatening expression of the economic crisis. Although there is evidence of a legitimation crisis having some impact at the level of schools, these people have reacted by emphasising a particular educational focus that developes attributes which it is predicted employment authorities are likely to prefer for the dwindling number of job vacancies. Whether or not the parents accept the current political order, they appear to be giving assent to educational programs based upon technical controls derived from business and political interests. These programs in effect are extensions of 'ideological' visions of management generally and may prove in the long term to be inadequate. Braemar offers its program on the open market and judging by the strong demand for enrolment, the school is most successful. Legitimation of education in the view of its clients has come down to the provision of employable skills and attributes.

Braemar has clearly decided that its direct accountability is to its immediate school community—the parents and pupils. The implications of the crises for the management of schools come into focus when the question of accountability is raised. To whom should the school be accountable? Is it the whole community, the local community, the sectional class or religious community, industry, the employing authority or the professional staff of the school, the teaching profession, parents or pupils? Clear answers should assist in determining the reaction to the impact of crisis and the subsequent planning of school policies and curriculum. For many teachers and administrators, the selection of the answer is a key task and a problem most difficult to solve. The task is of great significance because the answer not only affects the choice of 'relevant' knowledge but also the approaches and attitudes to pedagogy, evaluation and administration.

As suggested earlier, the Coolaroo-Braemar comparison would be brief and would not purport to be based upon extensive case studies. The schools were vastly different although their general title is 'school'. It should be noted that their roles in their respective communities must differ due to the nature of each community. In the first case the educational administrator is attempting to administer a school in a manner required by the State Education Department but is operating in a community climate where the expectations of members of the community are in many ways at variance with those of the Principal. In the second case the administrator (Headmaster) makes decisions about the operation of the school in the light of the agreed expectations of the community that is itself made up of the immediate school participants.

Activity 2.5
Use the two brief school studies or two schools with which you are familiar to ascertain the likely impacts of the Habermasian crises on each school and its community. List these effects and where possible determine likely adaptive reactions that could result.

Enrolment trends

Claims of increasing enrolments in private schools such as Braemar are usually taken as a measure of the success of the school and are made when there is a need to verify the qualities the school strives to sustain. In the Braemar case, the outcomes admired by the parents are measurable and seem to be related to increased chances of success in the HSC examinations, the development of courtesy and obedience in the graduates and the enhanced likelihood of gaining employment. The swing to non-government alternatives is noticeable and is not a phenomenon observed only in Australia. Boyd & Crowson (1981, p. 331) observe 'a more competitive and challenging climate for public schools' and suggest that a comparatively reduced capacity for adaptation is contributing to the situation where 'clients are more inclined to turn to the non-public schools for educational services'. They report a claim that:

> Many observers believe that efforts over time by educators and reformers to professionalize and systematize public schooling, and to insulate it from political vicissitudes and environmental turbulence, have succeeded too well (p. 331).

and cite the assertion of Hawley (1975) that states that 'public schools tend to be too rigid, unresponsive institutions'. The suggestion is that

> reformers and educators have succeeded, over time, in transforming the external situation in such a way that the public schools are only modestly dependent on, or accountable to, their environment (Boyd & Crowson 1981, p. 332).

Of course we do not insist that the situation is the same in Australia. But similar enrolment trends are in evidence and the reasons provided in the popular press are not contrary to the American observations. Sheridan (1982) in Document 2.4 provides information on the trend in Australia.

Activity 2.6
Read Document 2.4 in order to become familiar with the details of the trend and the perspectives of the author. Consider the following questions:

1. *Are the author's suggested reasons valid?*
2. *Is the trend symptomatic of a significant dilemma?*
3. *Could it be necessary to reverse the trend?*
4. *How could the trend be reversed?*
5. *How does the situation relate to polarisation in society, as mentioned earlier in this section?*

Document 2.4: Education today: How parents are grading schools
Greg Sheridan

More and more parents are queueing outside the older private schools and the newer "alternative" establishments to enrol their offspring. They are, as GREG SHERIDAN reports, disillusioned with State schools where, due to bureaucracy and militant teachers, their children learn everything except the three Rs.

DESPITE rising fees and increasing costs the private school boom continues as parents vote, with their children's feet, to desert the government school system.

Contrary to myth, most of the popular private schools are not the wealthy, established "posh" ones, but non-Catholic denominational schools, the Catholic schools themselves and a growing number of "alternative" establishments.

This last development is perhaps the most interesting for, despite bureaucratic and political opposition, growing numbers of parents seem to be rejecting established educational systems. Often at great personal cost, they are starting genuine alternatives which are changing the face of Australian education.

The non-government school enrolments, as a proportion of all enrolments, peaked in 1955 when 24.1 percent of children attended them. For the 20 years after that there was a slow, steady drift towards government schools. But by 1977 a swing back had started, and the Schools Commission, in its last report, predicted: "By the middle 1980s approximately 25 percent of enrolments will be in the non-government sector."

No matter how the education bureaucrats try to explain it away, this reversal of a 20 years trend, this flight from a free public product to a fee-paying private one, constitutes a massive indictment of the public system. In speculating on why parents make such a choice, the Schools Commission cited "factors such as discipline, uniforms, academic accomplishments, independence of staff, manageable size, extra-curricular options, moral or value-centred education, peer relationships or the absence of industrial unrest. It may be that they feel that a non-government school is more directly accountable to them . . . "

Alan Barcan, associate professor of education at Newcastle University, notes in an article in the *Australian Quarterly* that ". . . the swing is stronger in those States where State schools have been most influenced by neo-progressive doctrines – Victoria (teacher control of the curriculum, integrated studies); South Australia (school control of the curriculum, the open classroom); Tasmania (the social science curriculum) and the ACT (no external exams, open area teaching, a diversified curriculum) . . . In these regions the swing was greater than in less adventurous State systems such as those of NSW, Western Australia and Queensland."

At the top end of the private school market, although fees have risen greatly in recent years, demand has remained strong. At Cranbrook School, in Sydney, tuition fees for Years 11 and 12 have risen from $830 a term in 1981 to $950 a term this year, while boarding fees have risen from $780 a term last year to $890 a term. Similar rises for the Kings School, Parramatta, are $855 to $955 a term for tuition and for boarding, $790 to $870. Ascham, a comparable Sydney girls school, has seen similar rises: from $866 a term for tuition last year to $980 this year, and an increase from $768 a term for boarding to $870. In all these cases fees are less for junior classes.

Suzanne Corry, principal of Sydney's Tangara girls' school: a personalised tutoring system

The benefits of such posh schools are obvious. Apart from a rigorous academic regime and excellent sporting facilities, students will undoubtedly make contacts which will help them for the rest of their lives. Friends' fathers will offer jobs, queues will be jumped, etc.

But parents who cannot afford the dizzy heights of such esteemed institutions are still left with considerable choice of private schools. Traditionally, the non-government schools which have been most accessible in terms of price, have been the Catholic ones, although they are obviously selective on a religious basis. These days there are large, and apparently increasing, numbers of non-Catholics applying for admission to Catholic establishments. The Catholic education administrators are too polite to say so, but it would not seem unreasonable to suggest this is a further indication of dissatisfaction with the State system.

Brother John Thornber, headmaster of St Dominic's, Penrith, west of Sydney, reports that of 180 applicants for his 140 Year 7 vacancies, 15 to 20 were non-Catholics. St Dominic's fee structure ranges from $90 a term in the lower grades to $125 a term in Year 12.

Even a more prestigous Christian Brothers' school, such as Christian Brothers' Lewisham, which is nearly 100 years old, charges only $150 a term in primary school and $225 a term in secondary. The Catholic Church has always tried to provide education within the price range of its members. The fall-off in numbers in religious orders has provided some financial problems as lay staff have to be paid. (In the early 70s in Catholic parish schools, which make up 70 percent of the private sector, some 80 percent of teachers were religious. Now nearly 90 percent are lay.)

Catholic schools, despite larger average class sizes, are very attractive compared with State schools. Many are very old and have alumni traditions similar to, though less pronounced, than

Cranbrook School, Sydney: $1840 a term for senior boarders, but parents will pay

the most expensive posh schools. They tend to emphasise a robust and academically sound education. They can take advantage of the buyers' market for teachers, whereas the State system is bound up in bureaucratic selection procedures which ensure that merit and dedication are not criteria in choosing staff. Catholic schools are perceived to have better discipline than State ones. According to Vin Faulkner, of the Melbourne Catholic Education Office, demand far exceeds supply. If Catholic schools could provide more places, even though they charge fees, a wide variety of people would choose to fill them.

Nonetheless, they are starting to face problems similar to those of the State system. One is simply the size of the system and the trend towards over-bureaucratisation. In Victoria, there are 505 Catholic schools, with fees ranging, approximately, from $30 to $60 a term for primary students, and from $70 to more than $300 a term for secondary students. Faulkner comments on this: "Bureaucratisation varies from State to State. In Victoria, there has always been a very strong local input and an avowed intention to maintain local autonomy." Denis Williamson of the National Catholic Commission says: "I think we'd have a long way to go before we became as bureaucratic in terms of control as the State schools. Catholic education is still a very diverse offering."

The general policy towards non-Catholics is that they are reasonably welcome, but not at the expense of Catholic students. However, as government funding is on a per-student basis, it benefits a school to take as many students as it can handle.

MANY observers regard the development of non-government teacher unionism as the major emerging challenge to independent schools. It is not unreasonable to consider that a major factor in the disenchantment with State schools has been the increasing militancy of the State school teachers' unions. Independent schools have been largely free of this, but now private school teachers are unionising in a big way. The Independent Teachers' Federation of Australia recently set up a full-time secretariat and decided to affiliate with the ACTU. The fear has been expressed that, as arguably has happened in the State system, more and more teachers will view educational issues primarily from an industrial perspective. This can have disastrous effects educationally. For example, much of the debate on external examinations revolves around whether they are an affront to teachers' competence in assessing students, not whether they are the best educational tool. At a more prosaic level, teachers' supervision of bus lines after school, or participation in extra-curricular activities, undoubtedly benefit students, but from an industrial perspective may be seen as "breaking down hard-won award conditions."

Mike Raper, secretary of the NSW Independent Teachers' Association, says his union is committed to the "growth and development of non-government schools," and tries to take a

flexible attitude to industrial issues, negotiating, wherever possible, at the most local level to solve problems. Nonetheless, the industrial imperative is very strong in all trade unions, although the ITA tries to be the teachers' professional body, as well as their trade union. Certainly the non-government teachers' unions (with the exception of South Australia where it is part of the State school teachers' union) are light years away from the militancy and political radicalism dominating government sector teacher unions, especially in New South Wales and in Victoria.

Government and non-government school enrolments, selected years 1906 to 1980

Year	ENROLMENTS Government	Non-government	Total	PROPORTION Government	Non-government
		145,100	786,700	81.1	
		173,000	905,400	80.9	19.1
		226,600	1,101,000	79.2	20.8
		229,500	1,142,200	79.9	20.1
		272,800	1,148,200	76.2	23.8
		408,400	1,686,100	75.9	24.1
		580,400	2,435,100	76.2	23.8
		619,800	2,910,300	78.7	21.3
		686,500	2,984,800	77.7	22.3
1984	(Projected)			75.0	25.0

*Preliminary

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics.

One former Catholic school teacher who spoke to *The Bulletin* claimed that Catholic schools had all the same diseases as State schools, but they were simply in an earlier stage. In a few years the Catholic system would find itself in the same malaise as the State system.

Whether or not that view is correct, it is certain that increasing numbers of parents have turned their backs on all conventional education bureaucracies, and are doing their own thing.

The Accelerated Christian Education (ACE) schools are a case in point. The first ACE school began in Australia in the Blue Mountains in 1977. There are now about 70 such schools, with many more in the pipeline.

According to Dr Allen Roberts, a former national director of ACE Australia, these schools are generally run by independent, Bible-oriented churches, and tend to start off with about 15 to 20 students. The average size might be about 40, although some are much bigger.

The ACE program began in the US in 1970, and there are now nearly 5000 ACE schools in America. Roberts says: "It's got to the point where a new Christian school was starting in the US every seven hours, and two out of three of these were using the ACE program."

This appears to be essentially a program which regards teaching as a form of Christian missionary activity, combining fundamentalist Christianity with secular education. Thus evolutionary theory and "creation science" are given equal consideration.

The ACE schools face several problems. One is that the Independent Teachers' Association intends to pursue the matter of schools which do not pay award rates.

But Roberts says: "ACE teachers are highly committed and prepared to work longer hours for much less."

A further problem is that of registration. Many ACE schools are registered and some even receive government assistance; others are having great difficulty with registration. Roberts comments: "A very tight bureaucratic control of education seems to be emerging Australia-wide." ACE was not helped by a report, prepared by the Uniting Church, critical of the alleged narrowness of ACE schools.

Roberts wrote in his reply to the Church that: "One cannot help but suspect that the Uniting Church's obvious antagonism to ACE, which is a Bible-based organisation, might well have arisen from underlying doctrinal objections. ACE's officially stated unwillingness to be involved with the World Council of Churches could also be an additional affront to the Uniting Church which is a member of that organisation."

There has been a rise of Parent-Controlled Christian Schools and Christian Community Schools, both of which, while not related to the ACE program in any way, emphasise strong Christian values in the context of a broader education course for their children. A group of Catholic parents has worked for four years towards the establishment of a girls' school, Tangara, at Wahroonga in Sydney. Tangara will commence operations with about 15 to 20 students this year, and a similar boys' school is planned. Tangara's principal is Suzanne Corry, an Arts and Education graduate from Sydney University.

Corry, who, just like the parents involved, is extraordinarily committed to the school. She spent three months in Europe last year studying schools which had a similar educational philosophy. She says: "The key feature of this educational philosophy will be the personalised tutoring system. Each student will have a particular tutor, who will be a staff member. What we're demanding in enrolling parents is that they commit themselves to meeting with their child's tutor perhaps four to six times a year for a serious discussion about the development of the whole child. There's a need to put the onus back on to the parents. They are the most important people in the education of a child."

Fees for Tangara will be $390 a term. Parents will also be asked to make a no-interest loan to the school for building

PUBLIC OPINION

Teachers in State schools win 46pc satisfaction rating

ALMOST half Australians, in all States, are satisfied with teachers at government schools, according to a Morgan Gallup Poll.

In an Australia-wide poll, a cross-section of 2327 men and women aged 14 and over was surveyed in December. They were asked: "Overall, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with teachers at government schools in this State?"

In total, 46 percent (down 2 percent on 1980) were satisfied with teachers at government schools, 28 percent were dissatisfied, 2 percent neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, and 24 percent had no opinion.

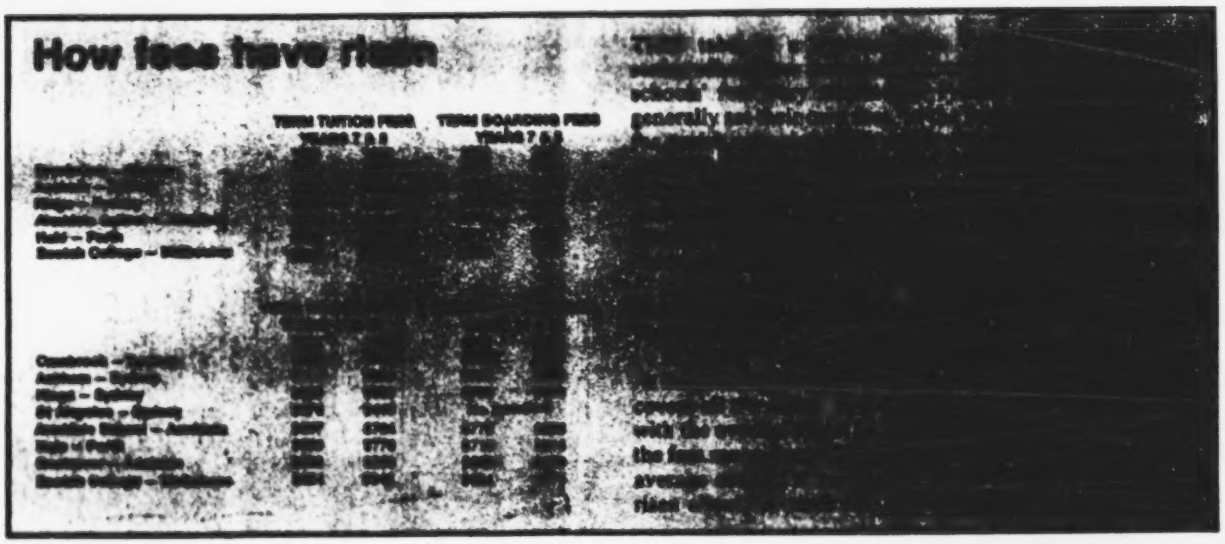
There was a significant decline in satisfaction with government school teachers in New South Wales, where 45 percent (down 7 percent) were satisfied, while 30 percent (up 9 percent) were dissatisfied. However, in Victoria, the percentage of people dissatisfied fell 4 percent to 33 percent, while 41 percent (up 3 percent) were satisfied.

The following table shows Western Australia as the State most satisfied with teachers at government schools and Victoria as the least satisfied State. It also compares the latest result with a previous poll:

ANALYSIS BY STATE

	1980 %	1981 %	Qld %	NSW %	Vic %	Tas %	SA %	WA %
Satisfied	48	46	48	45	41	53	50	53
Dissatisfied	25	28	23	30	33	30	26	23
Neither	3	2	3	2	2	-	1	2
No opinion	24	24	26	23	24	18	23	22

Of people aged 14-19 years, 54 percent were satisfied with teachers at government schools, compared with 48 percent of those aged 20-29 years, 50 percent of those aged 30-49 years, and only 36 percent of those aged 50 and over. □



purposes. And a new private school to be called The Hills Grammar School, is to open at Dural in 1983, and its prospectus is a litany of the GPS values: "The school will be strongly academically oriented . . . The teaching staff will be among the finest and most highly qualified in Australia . . . Examinations and testing will be a central part of the academic program . . . Discipline at the school will be firm and constant . . . The school will not be selective on the basis of intellectual ability alone, a proven record of acceptable behaviour and satisfactory attitude to school work will be important . . ."

THERE ARE major civil liberties implications in the flowering of diverse types of schools. There is something almost Orwellian about a government school regulatory system which produces the Bidwill riots, widespread classroom and playground violence, alarming rates of illiteracy and innumeracy, which tolerates a school in Sydney where the break-up day pranks include smearing excrement over the grounds, or the obscene graffiti of the School Without Walls in Canberra, but which has difficulty tolerating the existence of community based schools with high level of parental involvement, teacher motivation and community support.

One of the encouraging aspects of the alternative schools development is that many of them place an emphasis on individually attending to each child and making sure he acquires basic skills. Some alternatives even plan to teach the classics, an area of study of which the rest of Australian children are sadly deprived.

Still with only a fraction of the money per head which is spent on the State school system, non-government schools are growing rapidly. Two themes appear to emerge. One is that parents feel they are going to have some say in what goes on in a non-government school. Another is a clear preference by parents for structured learning, the three Rs, and traditional concepts of discipline both in learning and in general behaviour. The State systems are trying to respond to this challenge. The Australian Education Council has commissioned a survey of parents who take their children away from government schools, to find out why they decide to do so.

There is a siege-mentality within some Education Departments.

One Education Department source claims that large numbers of families give false addresses to overcome the rigid zoning system, so that they can choose one State school over another. Some States have now moved towards dezoning.

It could be argued that the political process is failing to reflect parents' wishes in education, that the bureaucracy is so vast and entrenched that its many component parts run in their diverse directions, pursuing their own interests, with little reference to ministerial control.

Certainly in NSW Paul Landa was an exception to that rule, stamping his authority more clearly on his department than any other recent minister. Many NSW education bureaucrats heaved an enormous sigh of relief when he moved to a different portfolio.

One obvious way of de-bureaucratising education is to decentralise its control, and the alternative schools in particular certainly do this. After all, you are unlikely to hear parents of children at a Hare Krishna or Ananda Marga school complain that their children are not getting the sort of education these particular parents want for them.

Source: Greg Sheridan, 'Education today: How parents are grading schools', *Bulletin*, 26 January 1982, pp. 42–5. Reproduced by courtesy of the *Bulletin*.

The cost in financial terms is a consideration that parents weigh up when deciding whether their children will be part of that trend. However there may be an increased financial cost for the total community. Davidson (1982) in Document 2.5 looks at this aspect and notes that currently education expenditure is seen more as consumption rather than as an investment.

Document 2.5: Private schools, public money
Kenneth Davidson

THE idea that spending on education is the most productive investment that a society could make for its future probably reached its apogee in Australia in 1972 with the election of the Whitlam Government.

The reaction was not long coming. While the huge increase in education spending was, together with other forms of Government spending having a perceptible effect on the taxpaying pocket, there were no obvious social returns in the form of higher levels of literacy or numeracy and employers complained that school leavers in the 1950s and 1960s were better trained and better motivated than those in the 1970s.

As labor productivity went down and as the economy moved into the first recession, which bottomed in 1977, it was easy to portray the rapid expansion in education spending as a waste which simply put extra money in the pockets of a rapacious teaching profession.

Education expenditure is now seen more as a form of consumption rather than investment by society. It can be cut in times of economic stringency without doing fundamental damage to the long-term growth rate of the economy. However, this is not to deny that education confers substantial private benefits on the recipients, as the link between education levels and income levels shows.

Employers are now demanding higher education levels for a given job. As the Williams report into education, training and employment said: "Whereas in the sixties many employers would accept year 10 standard of education for entry into an apprenticeship, in the seventies many were looking for year 11 or year 12."

Thus, a clerical job which today requires a degree would in the past have only required a secondary education.

This means that as retention rates go up through the education system so a higher proportion of the workforce becomes credentialed, and the competition for attractive jobs with high pay, status and professional satisfaction becomes more intense.

It follows from this that, in terms of sought-after jobs, a given level of education today is worth a lot less than the same level in the 1950s and 1960s.

If you are entering the workforce, the value of your education depends not only on how much education you have, but more importantly on the level of education acquired by all the other job seekers. Education then plays a fundamental role in rationing attractive jobs which are scarce in relation to demand. It sorts people out by providing an obstacle course whose degree of difficulty depends on the number of jobs available compared to the number of potential candidates.

It follows that the race is going to become longer and more expensive while retention rates in the schools are getting higher and more people are going to tertiary institutions. At the same time, the number of top jobs is contracting or not growing as fast as in the 1950s and 1960s.

It is not surprising in this situation that the more affluent or more ambitious — or even more caring — parent is going to look for ways to beat the competitive pressure.

The obvious way is to buy a superior — or an apparently superior — education, which can be done by increasing education spending for yourself and your group or by squeezing the resources available to other groups.

Thus, the Federal Government now spends more on non-government schools, which educate 22 per cent of the school population, than on Government schools, which educate the other 78 per cent.

While expenditure per pupil in Government schools is still higher than for Catholic schools and about the same as for other non-government schools, non-government schools are expanding their spending while reducing their fees.

Thus, Catholic secondary schools were able to reduce their fees by 10 per cent and the other non-government secondary schools by 14 per cent in real terms between 1974 and 1979.

This was made possible by an increase in Federal grants for both non-government school systems of more than 100 per cent. This, in turn, was made possible by a real cut in Federal grants to State schools.

There is now a drift of students out of the Government system into non-Government schools and this can be seen in part to reflect parental belief that the State system is inferior.

Supporters of the non-Government schools point out their schools are cheaper to run and claim that they should receive even larger amounts of money from State and Federal Governments.

However it is expensive to run a universal system which must provide education in uneconomic areas and for all children. Non-Government schools, by being selective about where they establish and whom they enrol, can run a cheaper system, although it can increase the costs of universal delivery by the Government schools.

The Schools Commission report last year suggested that schools requiring financing above the present minimum of 20 per cent of total costs should be subject to conditions.

The report said: "Possible criteria for higher funding might include the schools enrolling all students without entry tests and regardless of personal attributes or religious affiliation: being open to students from a wide range of socio-economic and cultural backgrounds: publishing relevant accounts and other relevant information about its educational operation: and adopting due process for excluding students from enrolling."

In other words, making the private schools operate more like public schools. Whether this recommendation disappears without trace and Government schools are gradually undermined depends on the strength of the public school lobby against those who have a vested interest in narrowing competition for top jobs.

REAL INCREASE IN EDUCATION SPENDING PER PUPIL BETWEEN 1974 AND 1979.

HOW THE COST WAS SHARED

	Percentage increase	Federal grants	State grants	Fees
Primary Schools				
Government	42	—	—	—
Catholic	57	+91%	-55%	+2%
Other private	26	+115%	+74%	-15%
Secondary schools				

Source: Kenneth Davidson, 'Private schools, public money', *Age*, 24 June 1982, p. 13.
Reprinted from the *Age*.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Activity 2.7
Following the reading of Document 2.5 attempt a response to the following questions.

1. What are the reasons given by Davidson for the privatisation trend in education? Consider their validity.

2. How can apparently cheaper running costs of most private schools be related to higher running costs in the government school system?

3. What is the suggested set of circumstances for controlling the expenditure of public money on this private enterprise?

Probably one of the most important aspects of the small but discernible trend away from public school enrolment is that some people are no longer seeing them as totally legitimate institutionalised organisations. Whereas in the immediate past the public accepted the place and power that government schools had in the working of the community, it would appear now that faith and confidence is being withdrawn and the legitimacy of these schools is being questioned. In Australia the demands for opening up the school governance system have not been as strong as in some other countries, but there have been questions about effectiveness and efficiency. The life chances of public school graduates are being questioned as is demonstrated by the decline in public confidence and support as enrolment proportions increase in the private schools. It seems that the Australian tradition of highly centralised education systems, with virtually no local community governance and input, has persisted so long that now, even though local control has come closer, clients have chosen to seek alternatives rather than stay on to participate. It is somewhat ironic to observe the high degree of conservatism that is typified by the move away from government schools, especially if one is aware of the radical political activity that was so much a part of the combination of forces responsible for the initial setting up of each state system.

Disagreement on entrepreneurial action

Some of the criticism that is directed at schools, teachers and the administration of education is detailed by Beare (1982). He points out that although the assertions are often unproven, what really matters is that they are believed. A statement of the context for Australian schools is derived by Beare and this is used to help predict the context of the immediate future. The role of an entrepreneur or public relations specialist is proposed for leaders of schools. Beare argues that the concept of 'corporate personality' should be applied to the 'business' of education and recommends that the concept be adopted from the world of business where it is used to favourably present features of the corporate identity of a business or industrial enterprise. Numerous questions are provided by Beare in order that we may ask ourselves about what constitutes the public image of each of our schools. The article suggests the need to place emphasis upon the cultivation of more desirable images for schools even in the face of other important questions and disputes.

The Beare presentation of education as a market economy is severely criticised by Bates (1982) who compares the reality of business activity with the theory of a free-market economy in an attempt to show the inappropriateness of Beare's analogy. Bates argues that ready acceptance

of existing systems and structures may lead administrators to misconceive problems and then to attempt resolutions in an inadequate manner. The case opposing the Beare proposal identifies the confusions between

(a) appearance and reality, and

(b) the nature of schooling and the nature of a corporate economy.

Reading 1
H. Beare, 'Education's corporate image', *Unicorn*, vol. 8, no. 1, 1982, pp. 12-28.

Reading 2
R. J. Bates, 'Education and the corporate economy—a response to Hedley Beare', *Unicorn*, vol. 8, no. 4, 1982, pp. 351-62.

Activity 2.8
Read the two articles in the order shown.

1. Note the checklist for principals that Beare proposes for a consideration of the school's image and list the features suggested for the cultivation of a good public image.

2. What does Bates suggest are the basic factors involved in the failure of the ideology of meritocracy as it was used in economic and social planning for greater affluence and equality?

3. Determine the fallacies that are inherent in the representation of education as a market economy.

4. Identify the problems associated with the school-factory analogy.

5. Consider the Bates proposal of exchanging schools for pupils as a product.

6. Finally, determine for yourself the power of the Bates proposals and criticisms, then reflect upon the Beare proposals in order to decide upon the appropriateness of all aspects of the critique.

The above readings and the resulting interaction of ideas should be reminiscent of some of the criticisms of the tradition in educational administration in Section 1, and of the major concerns of equality and equitable distribution of resources in the recent consideration of the technological age of our capitalist society as discussed in this section. Commitment to what up until now constitutes the educational administration tradition, has the effect of blinding administrators to taking alternative perspectives that should allow both the clear definition of problems and the proposal of unexpected, but useful, suggestions about action.

Issues and problems for education in the 1980s

During the 1980s, some of the problems and key issues in education will emerge as a response to the social problems that are associated with the economic crisis and with rapid technological development. Some problems will be inherited from previous decades but may assume renewed importance. It would of course be foolish to lose sight of historical perspectives, but the anticipated debates must also take place with an eye to the future. The social climate of the 1980s in Australia will be affected by global influences, rapid changes in production and the economy generally—a situation that will have no exact parallel in our

history. A search for solutions in records about the past will probably be fruitless. We will discuss the 1980s bearing in mind that the results of indulging in extreme exercises in futurology usually are found later to be full of errors and omissions due to the great speed at which some of the new developments can occur.

The influence of the compelling arguments used originally to support the introduction of compulsory education pervades the hopes that we still hold for the emancipatory role of education. We still have confidence in the value of education for its own sake and as a means of enhancing social and economic progress when resulting social mobility is seen to help create social cohesion and stability. The confidence is founded firstly on the observations that some individuals achieve mobility when given the educational opportunity and secondly in the knowledge that their success might not have been possible prior to the introduction of free, compulsory education. This optimism has not, however, been found to be entirely justifiable, especially during the years leading up to the present, more difficult times. The economic growth of the 1960s used to be accepted as normal and as being allied to social progress because inflation and unemployment appeared to be controllable. However during this period of growth, the expanding systems of education were placing emphases upon bookish learning and on the operation of a selection process for future students of higher education. The resulting effect has been, and still is, an acceptance by teachers and pupils of expectations of failure at each level. As pupils fail or sense failure they cease 'education' and enter employment that is socially cast for their particular level of failure. Positive feelings about self and the community have not been high in many of the people who entered the labour market having been 'gated' in that direction. There is obviously something quite wrong with a system of education which causes a capable turner and fitter who interprets complex blueprints and makes components to a required accuracy of less than one quarter of a millimetre, to think he is not clever.

Associated with the use of failure as a gating mechanism, has been an escalation of credentials which has the effect of displacing the less well-educated from jobs which largely remain unchanged. This emphasis upon credentialism goes hand-in-hand with the increasing school-leaving age and gradual withdrawl of young people from work—a trend most evident in our recent history. Clearly there is a link between education and work, in that as specialisation increases, the level and type of education has a relationship to the possibility of employment or unemployment. Blackburn (1981) points out that credentials and their achievement are 'an expensive way of giving some applicants preference over others in job queues, [and act] strongly to the disadvantage of particular social groups' (p. 83). She is not denigrating academic pursuits or taking the stance that educational expenditure has been too high. Scapegoating in the form of blame laid on the system of education for the economic crisis and the crises of rationality, legitimation and motivation is becoming common and Blackburn notes that educators are 'for the first time, seriously faced with an obligation to enter into dialogue about the justification of educational activities on defensive terms to which they are unaccustomed' (p. 83). Education that is planned to serve the needs of the unemployed is an example of an inappropriate path to take. What will be needed in broad terms is a reorientation of education so that it will

become more demonstrably serviceable to wider sections of the population and become more conscious of its social responsibilities, as distinct from being seen so strongly as a path to individual social and economic advancement' (Blackburn 1981, p. 82)

An important adjustment to the system of teaching and evaluation must be that which requires a change of emphasis away from the search to find pupils who are failing, to a revised emphasis upon degrees of success and the variety of ways that success can be achieved. Moreover the choice of what constitutes appropriate knowledge will in many cases have to be rethought so that the curriculum adopted is intended for the development of interpersonal and personal attributes including initative, responsibility, ability in communication, co-operation and adaptability. Blackburn summarises this argument:

What needs to be sought at school level is a selection of knowledge, activities, and experience useful in understanding and negotiating the world and in extending the range of potentially satisfying activities to which people have access in it. Such a selection will not be identical in all places. It will draw on accumulated knowledge and generalizable understandings, relating them to differing experiences, expectations, and realities, and seeking routes to them through practical activities and experiences as well as through more secondhand means (1981, p. 84).

Activity 2.9

Consider the necessary commitment of educators to the building of intellectual and social resources in their students.

How does the interaction between education and employment relate to

(a) a choice between general and vocational credentials?

(b) the development of individual creative imagination that will be needed to make full use of political responsibility and technological development?

A major concern identified by Blackburn (1981), Jones (1982) and Pusey (1982) is the effect on many individuals of the increasing complexity of knowledge required for an understanding of macro-economics and modern information technology. No longer are the macro-economics of the nation state merely grand scale versions of the micro-economics of the family unit. Effects of the information explosion include the increased technical background required for a number of activities and decisions, along with the reduced capacity of voters to understand what is going on around them. As a consequence, involvement in democratic electoral processes in the future could seem to be irrelevant and a significant reduction and change may occur in the 'public' mode of life of individuals, as opposed to their 'private' lives. Withdrawal from economic, political and civic life is the predicted extreme effect of what is called 'privatisation'—a concept derived from Brittain (1977). Pusey (1982) describes this disturbing possibility as a surrender of 'our public lives to science, false science and to the seemingly inexorable process of rationalisation' (p. 9). The reaction of privatisation has an ironic expression in the statement: 'The amount of time spent by generalists in making technically based decisions is in inverse proportion to the complexity of the subject matter' (Jones 1982, p. 176). The world of privatised experience is predicted by Jones to be

essentially fragmented, eclectic, self-absorbed and self-referential: the significance of the political process is trivialized and replaced by the 'therapeutic outlook' incorporating drug dependence, 'dropping out' and 'turning off' (1982 p. 172).

Pusey (1982) suggests the effect will be:

> As thought is turned inwards towards mood-states and reflections upon subjective experience, there is a corresponding dislocation of the more conforming harmony of thought and action. There are corresponding changes also in motivations, attitudes and values, and most of these changes work against social conformity and, most significantly ... against established modes of organisational membership and participation (1982, p. 10).

These warnings about privatisation phenomena bear close relationship to concerns about the motivation crisis that many members of our society are experiencing as the legitimation crisis has its influence upon their private lives. An increase in the polarisation effect on the work force lends itself to a dichotomy which favours the politically strongest and aggressively conservative elements during a reallocation of control and power as it is associated with further reproduction of social inequality.

As these pressures are reflected in control and governance, it is expected that governments in attempts to increase their steering capacity will seek different, stronger forms of control over education. The governability of education systems in a technologically determined society requires compliance and involvement of the participants in the education systems. This can sometimes be bought, but in a shrinking economy, implementation of alternative measures could have the unplanned effect of centralisation, or at least the withdrawal from the school level, of the decision making and curriculum planning which only in recent years has come to be regarded as school based. These measures would detract from the profits that the practical wisdom of the individual teacher can bestow. As such, many forms of rationalisation such as packaged curricula or evaluation systems could be counter-productive and might well be culturally destructive. The influence bringing about the changes need not be at the centre of an education system, for it could come from indirect sources such as training institutions, specialists in curriculum development and educational evaluation, or even institutions promoting 'improvement' in educational administration.

A critical question is whether education can be used actively and positively to contribute to shaping the future. There is no doubt that education has and does influence overall social development, but should there be conscious attempts to plan in order that society can shape its future? The current global economic crisis and major concerns of legitimation, rationality and motivation have prompted the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) to concern itself with this question and other allied problems (1979, 1981). The organisation takes into account recent significant changes in economic and social trends and maintains that education should have a vital influence, although it acknowledges the hazardous nature of forecasting the future and the account that should be taken of opposing influences which derive from changing social, economic and technological conditions. It is insisted that any analysis that is carried out should cover a 'time-horizon' which must go beyond the next two decades into the 21st century. The discussion focuses on the four inter-related aspects of development: (a) the economy, (b) technology, (c) socio-political life, and (d) the cultural life of the individual and the community.

Probably the key debate of the discussion is about the sometimes conflicting demands that are made by the needs of training for

manpower requirements and the social objectives of education. These needs are seen to represent two opposing interests, because in the first case there is certainly a volume of training needed by the economy, but the second case relates to the social problems of rapidly changing production methods and uncertainty about skill shortages. In addition to the obvious needs of technical skills the OECD (1981) notes that

> changes in the importance of the service and information-based sectors, the spread of service and managerial functions within all the sectors of the economy and of participatory practices on the work-place, will require higher levels of general personal, social and communication skills, traditionally associated with the humanities and a liberal education (1981, p. 7).

Jones (1982) writes in a similar vein when discussing the accusation of the business world that too many students undertake 'soft' subjects such as literature and political science in preference to 'hard' options such as mathematics, physics and chemistry. He suggests that this view is naive if it is suggesting that the sciences are rigorous and studies based upon value systems are not. In asserting that the primary educational emphasis should be on the general or high level of literacy rather than the specific and vocational, he makes the claim that

> Australia's future will depend as much on its politicians, writers, artists and humanities teachers as on its engineers and chemists (Jones 1982, p. 168).

The OECD document (1981) makes it clear that quality in vocational training for the individual must concentrate upon both technical skills and personal and social skills. It is also argued that:

1. In addition to initial education and training, opportunities for the professional upgrading of the labour force should be made readily available due to the uncertainty at any one time about what skills are actually going to be needed.
2. Education and training must facilitate positive approaches to innovation and mobility among types of work, regions, enterprises and branches of industry.
3. It would be most appropriate to devote resources to the aspect of educating future consumers for the making of informed choices about prices and quality, about the conservation of resources, energy and the environment.
4. That member countries introduce overlapping and/or alternating periods of education with employment, so that the discontinuity between education and entry to the labour force, as is the general current situation, is replaced.
5. If additional periods of education are used to keep young people off the labour market, these periods should be used to ease the transition from school to working life.

Two highly signficant problems that will pervade education in the 1980s and beyond relate to the many examples of social inequity associated with obvious educational inequalities *and* the increased need for participants in a public system of education to have conscious involvement in the transmission of values and standards of cultural taste. In some ways these two major concerns are related and they may be parts of the same problem.

Disadvantaged people in Australia include groups such as the poor, women, Aboriginals and migrants. The titles begin to identify the nature of the problems, but the groups themselves can overlap and their problems are varied according to demographic and other social factors. The nature of educational inequality that is involved in each case can be either broad or highly specific, depending upon perspectives adopted, and is certainly not easily defined. A liberal approach to increasing access to secondary education in more recent years was an expression of hope for a better world with increased equality and opportunities for the repressed to gain social mobility. Despite a slowly growing realisation during these years that inequality was not just a result of individual differences in innate talents, the situation of gross social disadvantage for various groups still prevails. A plethora of other interacting factors and attitudes can be found to explain the continuity of the problem. Among various single factors that have in the past received attention are, in broad terms, home influences, level of origin in social strata and the school. No single source of influence, however, could be identified as the critical factor. A most important Australian study of this problem is that reported by Connell et al. (1982). They have used a flexible but thorough interview approach that facilitated identification of situations which relate to and perpetuate inequality. A theory of reproduction which the word 'perpetuate' may suggest is not what they derive, for they note exceptions to most such generalisations.

Connell et al. (1982), like Giroux (1982), relate to theories of reproduction and resistance. However not one of these writers accepts pure explanations of repression as the dominance of a passive lower group by a ruling class (an element of 'reproduction') or opposition by members of a less fortunate group to the adoption of attitudes and knowledge that could provide for upward mobility (an element of 'resistance'). They say this because it is known that the same schools can 'generate upward mobility, and downward mobility, and no mobility at all' (Connell et al. 1982, p. 193). Giroux (1982) argues that it is

> important to remember that while diversity within the working classes is far reaching, it is formed within the economic, political and ideological contexts that limit the capacity for self-determination. To forget the latter allows one to run the risk of both romanticising the culture of subordinate groups and to mystify how the dynamics of hegemonic ideologies and structure work (1982, p. 11).

Both sources point in similar theoretical directions when they consider approaches to future action. Connell et al. (1982) suggest that:

> The notion of cause in social analysis has little purchase unless it is linked with social action. What we need for an assault on injustices that exist in, and work through, the education system, is knowledge about how a given pattern of social relationships has come into being, how the people in the situation relate to it, and what are its tensions and contradictions. It is simply not helpful to think about it as an array of causal factors that can be manipulated to produce a cure. Rather, we need to think in terms of *potentials* that a given situation has for the people in it, and the *constraints* on what they can do with it. Both potentials and constraints are constructed by the history of the social relationships involved, and they also change as social structures change (1982, p. 193).

Giroux (1982), whose considerations relate power and resistance to the curriculum, argues:

> In short, the basis for a new sociology for education and curriculum is going to have to be drawn from a more theoretically sophisticated understanding of how power, structure and human agency function to reproduce not only the logic of domination but also the calculus for mediation, resistance and social struggle (1982, p. 11).

Teachers and educational administrators will have an immensely important role to play. The opportunity to develop a sense of future, critical scepticism and awareness of the need for a more equitable distribution of resources and equality of life chances should not be ignored.

Conclusion

The traditional paradigm for developing theory of educational administration has provided knowledge which appears to lack a sense of reality. Currently, the consensus about approaches to determining such knowledge is dissolving, as is the case in most other social sciences. The need to develop appropriate sensitivities in administrators, so that the real work of educational administration is attempted, cannot be emphasised too much. It is anticipated that administrators will be better suited to practising in this world of turmoil, if they can see their task as having an emphasis upon a critical evaluation of ideas, an assessment of values and a willingness to rationally negotiate.

The current era in which we practise teaching or administration has been described as without precedent in our history, because the most recent technology appears to be reducing many categories of labour, time-saving or capital intensive work. This was not the position with previous 'new' technologies that mainly had the effects of both economic growth and an increased need for labour. The economic crisis in which society is currently located has associated crises of rationality, legitimation and motivation that are having an impact at various levels of production or service activity. We assert that the adoption of ideas derived from application of the concepts of the crises of legitimation, rationality and motivation can stimulate constructive, critical approaches to the understanding of our prevailing social order and practices.

Prospects resulting from social change expected to occur in juxtaposition with rapid technological development have been discussed in the context of our system of capitalism and the changing world of work. The effect of mass media was used as an example of an artefact of technological development which largely operates in ways consonant with cultural forms of the dominant ideology. This information has been provided so that some of the background of the current scene could emphasise and elaborate upon the notions of 'sense of crisis', 'discontinuity' and 'sense of future'.

We have established that there is a need for education processes to become socialising activities that will allow our society to function in a more equitable manner. The function can no longer be vaguely expressed as 'education for living' nor will an increased emphasis on pre-service vocational or technical education be totally appropriate because of rapidity of change due to further unpredictable technological development. It seems that we no longer can count on the past as being a useful predictor of the future. It should be apparent that having recognised the turmoil within society, we are seeing, 'the negative effects of simply reacting to problems' (Culbertson 1982, p. 474) and now must set about to articulate the purposes of education for these times and for the future. It is suggested that unless teachers 'intervene', disadvantaged sections of communities are most likely to become even more disadvantaged in an age where computer intelligence and hardware become paramount.

Reflective scepticism is called for on the part of teachers and educational administrators as they critically examine current assumptions before determining views and courses of action.

References

Adorno, T. W., & Horkheimer, M. (1977), 'The culture industry: Enlightenment as mass deception', in J. Curran, M. Gurevitch & J. Woolacott (eds), *Mass Communication and Society*, Edward Arnold, London.

Angly, P. (1982), 'A Dickens of a money mess', *Weekend Australian*, 25-6 September, p. 2.

Baldock, C. V. (1978), *Australia and Social Change Theory*, Ian Novak, Sydney.

Barr, T. (1977), *Reflections on Reality*, Rigby, Adelaide.

Bates, R. J. (1980), 'Bureaucracy, professionalism and knowledge: Structures of authority and control', *Education Research and Perspectives*, **7**(2), 66-76.

Bates, R. J. (1982), 'Education and the corporate economy—a response to Hedley Beare', *Unicorn* **8**(4), 351-62.

Beare, H. (1982), 'Education's corporate image', *Unicorn* **8**(1), 12-28.

Blackburn, J. (1981), 'Changing educational emphases for the 1980s' in P. Karmel (ed.), *Education, Change and Society*, Australian Council for Educational Research, Hawthorn.

Boyd, W. L., & Crowson, R. L. (1981), 'The changing conception and practice of public school administration' in D. C. Berliner (ed.), *Review of Research in Education* **9**, 311-76.

Brittain, A. (1977), *The Privatised World*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London.

Bronowski, J. (1977), 'A sense of the future' in P. E. Ariotti (ed.), *A Sense of the Future: Essays in Natural Philosophy*, Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Campbell, R. F. (1977), 'Educational Administration: A personal view of its future', in L. L. Cunningham, W. G. Hack & R. O. Nystrand (eds), *Educational Administration: The Developing Decades*, McCutchan, Berkeley, California.

Committee of Inquiry into Technological Change in Australia (1980), *Technological Change in Australia*, **1**, AGPS, Canberra (Meyers Report).

Connell, R. W., Ashenden, D. J., Kessler, S., & Dowsett, G.W. (1982), *Making the Difference: Schools, Families and Social Division*, George Allen & Unwin, Sydney.

Cromie, W. J. (1982), 'A robot in your future?', *The 1982 World Book Year Book*, World Book Inc., Chicago.

Culbertson, J. A. (1981), 'Three epistemologies and the study of educational administration', *Review* **22**(1), 1-6.

Culbertson, J. A. (1982), 'Reflections on the administration of education', an interview by R. S. Podemskii, *Phi Delta Kappan* **63**, 473-6.

Davidson, K. (1982), 'Private schools, public money', *Age*, 24 June, p. 13.

Department of Labor and Immigration (1975), *Studies of Displacement, Employment and Technology* (16), AGPS, Melbourne.

Douglas, J. D. (ed.) (1971), *The Technological Threat*, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N. J.

Erickson, D. A.(1977), 'An overdue paradigm shift in educational administration, or how can we get that idiot off the freeway?' in L. L. Cunningham, W. G. Hack & R. O. Nystrand (eds), *Educational Administration: The Developing Decades*, McCutchan, Berkeley, California.

Gillies, M. (1982), 'Be more open, schools told', *Herald*, 12 July, p. 11.

Giroux, H. A. (1982), 'Power and resistance in the new sociology of education: Beyond theories of social and cultural reproduction', *Curriculum Perspectives* **2**(3), 1–13.

Glynn, L., & Burger, W. (1982), 'Looking for a locomotive', *Newsweek*, 25 January **99**(4), 42–3.

Greenfield, T. B. (1973), 'Organisations as social inventions: Rethinking assumptions about change', *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science* **9**(5), 551–74.

Greenfield, T. B. (1975), 'Theory about organization: A new perspective and its implications for schools' in V. Houghton, R. McHugh & C. Morgan (eds), *Management in Education*, Ward Lock Educational, London.

Griffiths, D. E. (1977), 'The individual in organization: A theoretical perspective', *Educational Administration Quarterly* **13**(2), 1–18.

Griffiths, D. E. (1979), 'Intellectual turmoil in educational administration', *Educational Administration Quarterly* **15**(3), 43–65.

Habermas, J. (1976), *Legitimation Crisis*, Heinemann, London.

Halpin, A. W., & Hayes, A. E. (1977), 'The broken ikon, or, what ever happened to theory?' in L. L. Cunningham, W. G. Hack & R. O. Nystrand (eds), *Educational Administration: The Developing Decades*, McCutchan, Berkeley, California.

Hawley, W. D. (1975), 'Dealing with organizational rigidity in public schools', in F. M. Wirt (ed.), *The Polity of the School*, D. C. Heath, Lexington, Massachusetts.

Heron, J. (1981), 'Philosophical basis for a new paradigm' in P. Reason & J. Rowan (eds), *Human Inquiry: A Sourcebook of New Paradigm Research*, John Wiley & Sons, Chichester.

Hill, S. (1980), 'Economic and industrial transformation: The waves of social consequences from technological change' in P. Boreham & G. Dow (eds), *Work and Inequality* **1**, Macmillan, Melbourne.

Hodgkinson, C. (1978), *Towards a Philosophy of Administration*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford.

Hoy, W., & Miskel, C. (1982), *Educational Administration: Theory, Research and Practice*, 2nd edn, Random House, New York.

Illich, I. (1978), *The Right to Useful Employment*, Boyars, London.

Jones, B. (1982), *Sleepers, Wake! Technology and the Future of Work*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne.

Klapper, J. T. (1960), *The Effects of Mass Communication*, Free Press, New York.

Lynch, P. (1982), 'The robots are on the march', *Bulletin*, 30 March, p. 100.

McPeck, J. E. (1981), *Critical Thinking and Education*, Martin Robertson, Oxford.

McQuail, D. (1977), 'The influence and effects of mass media', in J. Curran, M. Gurevitch & J. Woollacott (eds), *Mass Communication and Society*, Edward Arnold, London.

McQueen, H. (1977), *Australia's Media Monopolies*, Widescope International, Melbourne.

Mapperson, I. (1979), 'The Implications of Technological Change', Committee for Economic Development of Australia, Information Paper IP1.

Marshall, I. (1974), 'Pressure and the pressman: Journalists at work', in D. E. Edgar (ed.), *Social Change in Australia: Readings in Sociology*, Cheshire, Melbourne.

Mayer, H. (1976), 'What should (and could) we do about the media?', in G. Major (ed.), *Mass Media in Australia*, Hodder & Stoughton, Sydney.

Murdock, G., & Golding, P. (1977), 'Capitalism, communication and class relations', in J. Curran, M. Gurevitch & J. Woollacott (eds), *Mass Communication and Society*, Edward Arnold, London.

Noble, T. (1982), 'Recent sociology, capitalism and the coming crisis', *The British Journal of Sociology* **33**(2), 238–53.

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (1979), *Education Policies in Perspective: An Appraisal*, OECD, Paris.

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (1981), *Educational development in changing social, economic and technological conditions: A discussion note*, Centre for Educational Research and Innovation, ED(81)6/CERI/CD(81)10.

Pusey, M. (1980), The key issue for education policy in the 1980s: A sociological perspective. Paper prepared as a modified version of a sociological study commissioned by the Committee of Review of Primary Education in Australian Capital Territory Government Schools.

Reason, P., & Rowan, J. (eds) (1981), *Human Inquiry: A Sourcebook of New Paradigm Research*, John Wiley & Sons, Chichester.

Reid, A. (1981), 'School violence may spark "cure" for social ills', *Bulletin*, 10 November, pp. 51, 54.

Rivers, W. L., Peterson, T., & Jensen, J. W. (1971), *The Mass Media and Modern Society*, 2nd edn, Rinehart, San Francisco.

Robson, P. (1979), 'Technological change and employment in the 1980s', *The Journal of Australian Political Economy* **5**, 58–69.

Sheridan, G. (1982), 'Education today: How parents are grading schools', *Bulletin*, 26 January, pp. 42–6.

Sinclair, J. (1974), 'Mass media and society: Critical theory and critical research, in D. E. Edgar (ed.), *Social Change in Australia: Readings in Sociology*, Cheshire, Melbourne.

Theophanous, A. C. (1980), *Australian Democracy in Crisis: A Radical Approach to Australian Politics*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne.

Thorns, D.C. (1982), 'Crisis in society: Urban and regional implications', *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology* **18**(1), 61–70.

Toffler, A. (1970), *Future Shock*, Pan Books, London.

Toffler, A. (1981), *The Third Wave*, Pan Books, London.

Van Maanen, J. (1979), *Administrative Science Quarterly* **24**(4).

Westergaard, J. (1977), 'Power, class and the media', in J. Curran, M. Gurevitch & J. Woollacott (eds), *Mass Communication and Society*, Edward Arnold, London.

Wheelwright, E. L. (1977), 'A note on the political economy of structural unemployment', *The Australian Quarterly* **49**(3), 67–73.

Wheelwright, E. L. (1982), 'A way out of capitalism's worst crisis since the '30s', *Australian*, 25 September, p. 21.

Windschuttle, K. (1980), *Unemployment: A Social and Political Analysis of the Economic Crisis in Australia*, rev. edn, Penguin Books, Ringwood.

Winston, B. (1973), *The Image of the Media*, Davis-Poynter, London.

EED431
Introduction to Educational Administration
Study Guide 1
Tradition and Turmoil in Educational Administration
ISBN 0 7300 0197 0
Cat. no. EED431S01

Deakin University
Victoria 3217